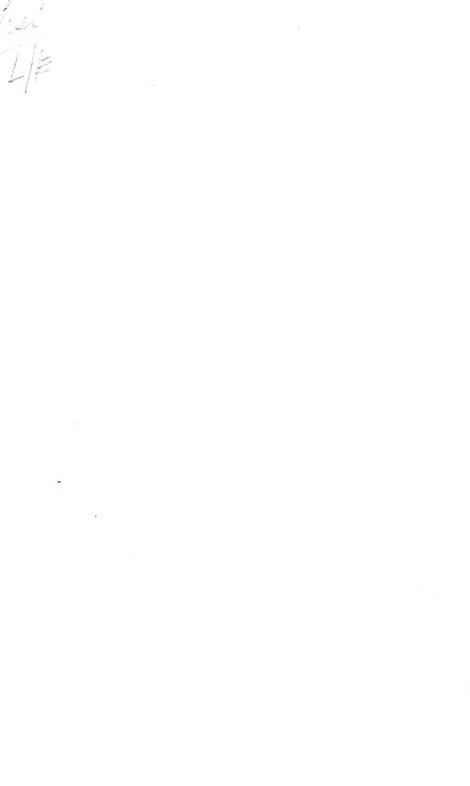


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# ENOCH RESTITUTUS;

ΘR,

### AN ATTEMPT

TO

### SEPARATE FROM THE BOOKS OF ENOCH

THE BOOK QUOTED BY ST. JUDE;

ALSO.

A COMPARISON OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF ENOCH WITH THE HEBREW COMPUTATION,

AND WITH THE PERIODS MENTIONED IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL AND IN THE APOCALYPSE.

BY THE

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### PREFACE.

• There are at present in Europe three manuscripts containing the "Book of Enoch," which have been translated by the Archbishop of Cashel.

They are written in the ancient Ethiopic or Geez character, and were all brought to Europe by Mr. Bruce, on his return from Abyssinia.

One of them was presented by him to the Bodleian library, another to the library at Paris, and the third still remains among the manuscripts collected during his travels, which are now in the possession of his family.

The following observations relate solely to the translation of the Archbishop of Cashel, which was made from the manuscript preserved in the Bodleian library, with the aid of collations from the Paris manuscript also.



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### DISSERTATION.

### CHAPTER 1.

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### INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION.

Some years have now elapsed since the Book of Enoch translated by the profoundly learned Archbishop of Cashel, again became known to the world, after a lapse of at least fifteen hundred years, during which, even the fact that such a book had ever existed, was at length disbelieved.

We owe to the celebrated Bruce the recovery of this ancient record, which however might still have remained unnoticed or unvalued, had it not been rescued from obscurity, by one who has added to his knowledge of a language so rarely acquired, not only the patience necessary for so tedious an undertaking, but the judgment and caution, without which the accuracy or fidelity of a version made under such difficult circumstances, might have been questioned.

But no such doubt can exist in the mind of any

one who observes the care and discrimination which are displayed in every criticism relating to the choice of words made by the translator, in cases of doubtful signification: and it requires little knowledge of the original language, to convince us that all which learning, united with caution and fidelity can accomplish, has already been done.

The reader is referred to the preliminary dissertation prefixed to the Archbishop's translation, for the various arguments whereby the priority of the book of Enoch to the Christian æra is fully established: and the various authorities which are there given in detail, will convince the enquirer that the same book which anciently existed is now recovered.

The Archbishop has in one instance only, transposed any part of the book; the places which he has thus amended manifestly containing portions of the same passage, separated from one another by some accident of transcription, or from some other fortuitous cause.

He has also remarked that "the different portions of the book may have been written at different periods." He has not however applied this principle to any examination of the work at large.

If there were cause to suppose that the book is now in its original order, I should certainly have deemed it beyond the province of criticism to reason upon the transitions which might occur in it, or to seek to amend the connexion of the several parts, by conjecture.

But having been convinced that the fact is otherwise, by finding in the Apocryphal "testaments of the twelve Patriarchs," portions of the book which were quoted as early as the second century, but which are not now to be found in it, I have thought myself justified in assuming, that as the book has already undergone alteration, the connexion of its various parts, and the difference of the subjects which are treated of, may rightly be taken as guides in an attempt to restore at least some part of the original order.

Since the application of this principle has, as I imagine, shewn that the degree of authority due to one part differs widely from that which can be given to others; I have endeavoured to ex-

hibit in a connected form that part which I judge to be the ancient book quoted by St. Jude: merely taking such notice of the more modern and rejected parts as may be sufficient to shew that they are not to be thrown aside as additions casually made to the more ancient work, but that they belong to books composed on other subjects, and that they may be so arranged as to form among themselves connected and consistent writings.

As to the probability that this book is not in all parts of equal authority, it is remarkable, that the shrewd Grotius formed this opinion, from the sight of those few fragments, which were known in the form of quotations, before the entire book was discovered.

"Credo initio, librum fuisse exiguum, sed cum tempore, quemque ea quæ voluit ei addidisse, ut in libris illis abstrusioribus factum est sæpe."\*

Bearing in mind that the Archbishop of Cashel has already proved the priority of this book to the Gospels, as far as such proof can be obtained

<sup>\*</sup> Gr. Ad. Epist. Judæ.

from internal evidence; I have endeavoured to select some of those passages of the Scripture which appear most remarkably to agree with expressions found in this work also: and I have arranged them in such a manner that reference may be easily made to their context.

In the following observations I shall first endeavour to state the general arguments which may be applicable to the question of the preservation of ancient prophecies, unnoticed in the Scriptures. I shall also enquire into the internal evidence which is attainable for the purpose of fixing the country, the time, and language, of the most ancient part; as well as determining the probable period subsequent to which it could not have been written, supposing that it were altogether apocryphal.

I shall endeavour to make use of such scattered arguments as may seem to bear upon the question of its authenticity, and shall afterwards give the reasons which have induced me to prefer the present arrangement of the book, as being an approximation to its original form.

But I must first remark that I have no design

of entering upon this question, as imagining it capable of accurate solution.

As I shall offer no opinion as to the degree of authority which this book ought to possess, so I shall content myself with criticism which being professedly conjectural, can go no farther than to combine such probabilities as may afford at least, some foundation of belief, although positive proofs be unattainable.

If, however, it should be found that there are circumstances from which we may conclude that this book was but little known to the Jews subsequent to the captivity, and that the evidence as to their general knowledge of it before that period, is rather adverse than favourable to such a supposition; much of the apocryphal character arising from its total absence from the Canon of Scripture will be taken away. And thus in the present instance we shall perhaps be justified in giving more weight to internal evidence in favor of the antiquity of some portion of the book, than would be otherwise allowable.

The comparison of particulars derivable from internal evidence being, in this case, the chief

source from whence an approximation to truth may be obtained; the coincidence of several indications, which singly are of little value, may sometimes be preferable to a more direct but solitary evidence.

With regard also to any passages connected with the ideas of Geography or Astronomy, observable in these writings; conjectures which are founded on comparison or analogy may be admissible, where they appear to tend towards a common conclusion.

In considering the question whether this book may probably contain a record of the earliest patriarchal traditions, our first enquiry will be, as to the possibility that such traditions, if reduced to writing, could in any case be handed down to an age so late as that of the Apostles, without becoming part of the Jewish canon.

On this subject I must refer the reader to the authority of a writer equally distinguished for extent of acquirements, and acuteness of intellect.

The learned Bishop Horsley, when speaking of the Sybilline books, observes, "The prophecies "that were current in the gentile world in later "ages, since they were neither forgeries of the heathen priests nor founded on the Jewish prophecies, must have been derived from prophecies more ancient than the Jewish—They were fragments, (mutilated perhaps and otherwise corrupted), but they were fragments, of the most ancient prophecies of the patriarchal ages."

He proceeds to shew that "fragments of the prophecies of the patriarchal ages might be preserved among idolatrous nations," and after shewing that the first idolatry consisted in blending the worship of the true God, "with the superstitious adoration of fictitious deities, and even of images," he adds that "paganism in this milder form was rather to be called a corrupt than a false religion."

Hence he argues "that means might be used "on the part of God to keep up the remembrance "of himself among them, by a right use of which "they might have recovered the purity from "which they fell, and which, though through "the extreme degeneracy of mankind they pre-"vented not a general apostacy for many ages, "had a tendency however to the general restoration

"by raising an universal expectation of the great "restorer."

Having shewn that both Melchisedek and Potipherah, may be considered as priests of a corrupted patriarchal church, He adduces the instances of Job and Balaam to shew that prophets also were to be found among that church.

Now we are to remember that if the gift of prophecy were not wanting among any people, they must certainly be in a state which would render them capable of preserving prophecies already delivered.

The family of Abraham was indeed chosen by God, but being chosen to be the origin of that seed in which all the nations of the earth should be blessed at the first coming of the Messiah, any prophecy concerning the latter days, and applicable to others rather than to them, would not with any especial reason be committed to the custody of that chosen race. And therefore, if any such prophecy existed, it might not improbably be looked for in the first instance, among those, who, while corrupted in some degree by

their addition of idolatry, still preserved among them the knowledge of the true God.

Bishop Horsley appears to have thought the existence of such prophecies not to be unlikely.

"If," says he, "any other prophets of that period existed, and many might although their works and their very names have been long since forgotten, it is more certain, I say, of the prophecies of these ages that they would be committed to writing, than of the earlier traditions. For that letters were older than the beginnings of idolatry cannot be proved, although in my opinion it is more probable than the contrary."

The learned Walton, in his prolegomena, expresses the same opinion, applying it to the book of Enoch.

"Enochum prophetâsse ejusque prophetiæ par-"tem temporibus apostolorum extitisse, ex epistolâ "Judæ certum est. Sine Scripturâ vero tot "annorum millibus conservatum fuisse, nullo "modo probabile videtur."

If, continues Bishop Horsley, "Balaam's Prophe-"cies were committed to writing, why not those "of earlier prophets?" and he afterwards adds that "to the mutilated words of the patriarchal "church, the Greek Philosophers were probably "indebted for those fragments of the patriarchal "creed from which they drew the just notions "which we find scattered in their writings of the "immortality of the soul, a future retribution, the "unity of the Divine substance, and even of the "trinity of persons. And to no other source can "we refer the expectation that prevailed in the "heathen world at large, of a great personage "to arise in some part of the East for the general "advantage of mankind."

It will be admitted that the very subjects, as to which the learned Bishop conceived that the heathen world must have acquired their knowledge of them, from fragments of true prophecy preserved beyond the pale of the Jewish church, are, in fact, to be found in the book which is now under our consideration.

The simple terms in which the trinity is described, as the "Lord of Spirits, the Elect one, "and the Power that was over the waters on that "day," express most forcibly the meaning of their

author, but it is in vain that we seek to trace in these expressions any resemblance in terms, to those used by the Jewish Prophets, to those of the new Testament, or to the explanations of the early Christian Church; and yet there is no subject with respect to which a similarity of terms would more probably be employed.

Thus also as to the Messiah's coming, we find predicted the synchronism of the day, when "the "elect one shall sit on his throne," with the period at which "those who have been destroyed "in the desert, and who have been devoured by "the fish of the sea and by wild beasts, shall "return and trust in the day of the elect one, "for none shall perish in the presence of the "Lord of Spirits, nor shall any be capable of "perishing."

Now although this harmonizes most exactly with the recognized predictions of the Apocalypse, yet there is no trace of imitation discoverable; while the general description of the Messiah's coming is such as might easily have been perverted into a mistaken expectation of an immediate and temporal kingdom.

If then, the preservation of prophecy from the earliest times be generally admissible,—and if the subjects of this book are such as a learned writer, who wrote before it was discovered, conjectured would be found in the most ancient Prophecies; we may next enquire whether there are any circumstances from which the probability of the preservation of this particular prophecy may be inferred, when we take into consideration the situation, and former state, of the country in which it has been found.

And here I must observe that there is no question, whether a prophecy of Enoch ever existed or not, because this is sufficiently proved by the quotation made by St. Jude.

On that passage Cave says,—"Utcumque fuerit "et undecunque illa habuerit Judas, sufficit nobis "a sancto spiritu illa consignata, ut verissima, "et in canonicis libris inserta esse."

"The only question therefore is, whether we have here the prophecy so quoted, or whether we are to consider its preservation as too improbable to be believed, or its corruptions so extensive as to destroy the whole of its authority,

"or finally, whether this quotation has been inserted in a comparatively modern composition."

If we suppose it to have originated among the later Jews, or to have been preserved only by them in Palestine, or during their dispersion over Asia, and their captivity at Babylon; it certainly appears very improbable that, in that case, the writing should have been lost, or that it should have been preserved in the country which had, of all others, the least communication with Palestine or Egypt.

That it was known, although not generally known among the Jews of earlier times, I do not doubt; nor do I think it improbable that they had a chief share in preserving it: but it may have been preserved by such of the dispersed among the heathen, as had not sufficient access to Grecian literature, to prevent the loss of the book; nor sufficient communication with the learned men who used that language, to impart to them a general knowledge of these or other Hebrew writings.

We know indeed, that in the time of Herodotus, so little was understood of the course of the Nile, or of the country in which its sources were to be found, that the historian, who was content to acquire information from the Priests of Egypt as to every matter in which they could instruct him, yet went himself to Elephantina in order to acquire some information on this subject.

Whether we look to any earlier or later period, (previous to the second century of the Christian æra), it appears that the chief communications between the two countries were those of hostile aggression or of careful defence; a state of things most opposite to the probable transmission of any documents, such as that of which we are now speaking; for such transmission, requiring some community of religious knowledge, must also require some approach to that similarity of opinion which can only result from unrestrained or constant intercourse.

Supposing indeed the fact, that the book in question were brought in early times, from whatever point it might come, into Ethiopia, it must be admitted that scarcely any other country can be pointed out, which, independent of national circumstances, is from its geographical position,

so well calculated for the preservation of any ancient record, without communicating to other countries the knowledge that such a record existed. Æthiopia, cut off from communication to the northward, to the extent which we have first described, and bounded on the west and southward by countries alike impassable, from the desert nature of their territory and the barbarism of their inhabitants, has on its remaining sides the sea which forms at once a boundary and barrier, while the points at which its coasts approach the opposite shore of South Arabia, the ancient Sabæa, formed indeed a communication with that country, but with no other. Thus, whatever change of manners, of religious rites or knowledge might occur in Ethiopia, must probably be traced to Sabæa for its origin, and so far as position is concerned it would be probable that any writing preserved in Ethiopia, must also have been derived from thence.

But we know that the actual history of ancient Ethiopia is so far confirmatory of this hypothesis, that Nebuchadnezzar, after conquering the whole of the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, extended his conquests into Ethiopia itself, while it is declared that the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, had also some dominion there; and thus, whatever the knowledge or religion of Sabæa might at that time be, it would be spread with the progress of the conquerors. But previous to this period we are able, in some degree, to trace in Southern Arabia, a knowledge of the true God.

I apprehend that it is now generally acknowledged that the Queen of Sheba, or Saba, who "came from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon," came from this country. With regard to her, we may observe that our Saviour himself, speaking of this circumstance, says, "The Queen of the South shall rise up in "the judgment with this generation and condemn "it, for she came from the utmost parts of the "earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and be-"hold, a greater than Solomon is here." therefore declared that this Queen gave an example of greater faith than those, who unconvinced by the wisdom of him who spake as never man spake, said, "Master, we would see a sign from thee."

It was then, no mere gratification of curiosity unconnected with a religious motive, or compatible with a continuance in Idolatry, which induced this ancient Queen to perform so long and toilsome a journey. Her previous knowledge of the true God impelled her to seek instruction from one, whom she judged to be under his peculiar protection; and although the well-known custom among the ancients of propounding enigmas, as in the cases of Hiram and of Sampson, might at first incline us to suppose that the same allusion only is continued in the passage concerning this Queen as it stands in our translation, yet if we examine the context we may conclude otherwise.

It is true that the LXX have for the word here made use of, "Aινιγμασι;" and that it is the same word הוחה as occurs in the passage concerning Sampson's riddle in the book of Judges. But in that place and elsewhere it has joined with it the verb from whence it is derived, הח, which evidently restricts it to this single sense, while in the present passage, another verb is used, הס, "tollere," and from thence, "tentare," the use of which, as Parkhurst justly remarks, implies a doubt concerning the matter put to trial.

The verse as it stands in our translation is, "And when the Queen of Sheba heard of the "fame of Solomon concerning the word of the "Lord, she came to prove him with hard ques-"tions," that is to say, with questions which although difficult, had relation to the name or word of God, to the wisdom which was required to expound the mysterious allusions of the law of Moses, or to the lessons which might be deduced from the warnings of prophecy.

While, therefore, with regard to the position of the Sabæan kingdom, we place more reliance upon Our Saviour's accurate delineation of the geographical character of this part of Arabia, as "the south" and "the utmost parts of the earth," than on any other evidence which can be adduced on this subject; I think that we ought also thus to interpret the purpose of the Queen's mission, in agreement with the scope of our Lord's discourse when he mentioned her example.

But thus we find that the knowledge of the true God was to be found in Sabæa in the days of Solomon; since the purpose which I have endeavoured to trace out could only have existed

in the mind of one previously so far instructed, as to admit the truth of the superintendance of God over his favoured nation.

In the absence of any evidence as to the state of the Sabæans during the period immediately subsequent to this, we may conclude that many among them must at least have had the means of attaining nearly to the state of proselytes, under the Jewish law. Thus, there is not only some evidence as to the possibility of the preservation of any prophetic writing in Sabæa at the period already referred to, and for some time afterwards, but a presumption also that any books known, however imperfectly, to the Hebrews at that time, would be made known to the Sabæans also.

On the captivity of the ten tribes by Psalmanassar, it appears probable that they were dispersed not only in the countries to the north-eastward of Judæa, but that they were scattered throughout the whole extent of country as far to the southward as the Persian Gulph; for we are told that the King of Assyria not only brought men from Babylon, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, but also from Cutha, or Cusha, and

placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel. Now Cutha has usually been placed on the Persian Gulph, and there would thus be a large extent of country, in the whole of which the Jewish writings, or any which the fugitives might have acquired from other sources, might for a time be preserved. On the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar, it appears that the Jews whom he carried to Babylon were dispersed through his kingdom, as is observed by Junius, who in his commentary on this place, has, "in Babyloniam, i. e. in ditionem suam." And the book of Esther shews that they were dispersed through the southern provinces also, and that at that period, they kept themselves in a great degree separate from the other inhabitants of the empire. It is observable also that they kept up communication with one another, although separated by considerable intervals. If this were the case in other parts of the empire, the difficulty of the preservation of any records, would of course be less in a country among whose former inhabitants some degree of knowledge as to the true God, had still been preserved, as it seems to have

been in the southern portion of Arabia. Still. however, the circumstances in which the dispersed Israel, or the captive Judah were placed, were unfavourable to the multiplication of any records written in the purer Hebrew, which they might already have possessed. In a short time, we know that the majority of the nation ceased to understand their ancient language, having, as it appears, become habituated to the dialects of the countries in which they dwelt. Thus, even after their return to Jerusalem from the captivity, when Ezra "opened the book in the sight of all the people," we are told by Nehemiah (chap. viii. verse 8.) "That the Levites caused the people to understand the law,—"They read in the book, in the "law of God, distinctly, and gave the sense, and "caused the people to understand the reading."

If this were the case with regard to the comparatively well-known book of the law, it was still less probable that any other book written in the pure Hebrew, would be much understood or obtain much attention. But the subject of the book of Enoch renders this more likely, because, the Jewish Prophets having for several ages poured forth

prophecies, especially and evidently relating to the dispensations of God towards Israel and Judah, those subjects which concerned their own welfare would naturally excite their chief attention, especially as the credit of any very ancient prediction must have been then nearly as doubtful as it is at the present day. Thus it being unlikely that much attention would be paid to those copies of this or any similar prophecy which might already exist, it is still less probable that such copies would be multiplied; so that a book once known or originally possessed by the Jews might, by these means, possibly be lost among them, while it was preserved by others.

It appears that the man of Ethiopia to whom Philip was sent, (Acts viii. 27.) whether we suppose him to have come from Sabæa or from the modern Abyssinia, certainly came from a country in which the knowledge of the Mosaic institutions was widely spread. It would otherwise have been incompatible with the intolerance of heathenism, that one who was avowedly a Jewish proselyte should have had "great authority," or that he should publicly make so con-

siderable a journey, for the sake of worshipping at Jerusalem. And therefore we have some evidence that from the latter time of the dispersion, to the Christian æra, the preservation of a Hebrew writing was probable, either in Sabæa or in the opposite Ethiopia. I say in either of them, because it is evident from the Arabian historians, as well as from the early Abyssinian history given by Ludolph, distorted and misrepresented as both may be, it is still evident that a constant intercourse subsisted between the two nations.

Fabricius gives on the authority of Abulfaragius a singular tradition, that Enoch went into Ethiopia and taught, which, as it is plainly metaphorical, may perhaps, not without reason, be referred to the existence of writings attributed to him, in those countries.

He also refers to Kissæus, "in vitis patrum," as asserting, that the Sabæans boasted themselves to be the heirs and possessors of the books of Enoch.

Assuming then for the present, what I shall hereafter prove, that this was a Hebrew writing, and having shewn that its preservation in Sabæa

up to the Apostolic age required no improbable chain of circumstances. We may next enquire what evidence can be shewn for the probability that it should be safely kept from that time, without any farther circulation through the Christian world.

As to the country described by the ancients as the African Ethiopia, Herodotus says, when speaking of the Ethiopians, to whom the spies of Cambyses were sent;—"Their coffins are said to be "constructed of chrystal. They enclose the corpse "in a hollow pillar of chrystal, which is dug up "in great abundance, and is of a kind that is "easily worked." Larcher's note on this passage, appended to Beloe's translation, is, "According "to Ludolph they find in some parts of Ethiopia, "quantities of fossil salt which is transparent and "which indurates in the air."

The passage in Ludolph is as follows:—"More"over, in the confines of Tigra and Angora, from
"a place called the Land of Salt there are natural
"mountains of salt, from whence they supply
"themselves with inexhaustible quantities; cutting
"it out of the sides of the mountains in great

"pieces of a white and solid substance. In the "mountain it is soft, and slivered off with little "labour, but in the air it hardens."

There can therefore be little doubt that Herodotus and Ludolph speak of the same district, since the species of rock-salt is so peculiarly marked in both cases: and hence, we are at least able to identify the Ethiopia of Herodotus with this portion of modern Abyssinia.

If we may argue from the direction of the journey of the Ethiopian mentioned in the Acts, it seems most probable that he was returning to the African Ethiopia; since Gaza was the direct line for embarkation if he purposed afterwards to ascend the Nile. However this may be, or to whichever country his steps were directed; as we may assume that much the same state of religious knowledge existed in both; the inference may be the same, that the first preaching of Christianity in Ethiopia must have found many who, as Jews, would resist and separate themselves from the diffusion of the Gospel, as it would find also some prepared to modify their former Jewish opinions, according to the rule of the Christian faith. Nor even at a comparatively recent period were all signs lost of such a transition: the Ethiopians, according to Ludolph's interpreter, Gregory, are said to have called the bread which was set aside for the Eucharist and marked with a cross, "Corban." The derivation we cannot doubt. It must have been from former association of the same word with consecration to God in the gifts of the Jewish Temple.

Nor can we ascribe the ancient legend formerly borne by the Abyssinian kings, "The lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered," nor the universal prevalence of the names of Michael, of Jacob, and of Sion, among the inhabitants of this country, to any other cause than an ancient intermixture with the Jews, whether dispersed from the captivity of Psalmanasar or of Babylon, or from the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem.

Thus, what slight evidence is now attainable on this subject, tends towards the supposition that the first preaching of Christianity in Ethiopia, would be offered to a community imbued in some degree with Jewish prejudices. From hence it might result that those, who preferring to be nominally Jews, rejected the glad tidings offered to them; would swell the numbers of such, as chose rather still to boast their descent from Solomon, or to solace themselves with fables of the ancient greatness of their Israelite forefathers.

However this may have been, this result must have ensued, as it did elsewhere, that the Jewish portion of the nation would become decided in their separation from the rest; would persist in cultivating their own language, and in handing down from age to age their own sacred or traditionary writings. And with this supposition the account given by Ludolph accords.

"The Jews formerly held several fair and large provinces; almost all Dembea, as also Wegara and Sanen: stoutly and long defending them selves by means of the rocks, till they were driven from thence by Susneus; (about 1630) at which time they also lived according to their own customs. Now they are dispersed: though many still remain in Dembea, getting their livings by weaving, and exercising the trade of carpenters. Most of them still keep up their own synagogues, have their own Hebrew bibles,

"and speak in a corrupt talmadic dialect. The fathers of the Society (of Jesus) never took care to enquire when, or on what occasion the Jews came into Ethiopia, or whether they have any other books, especially histories: but it seems very probable that there may be found some ancient books among them, since they have lived so long and so securely in such inaccessified be holds."

Thus it appears that from a period so early that the separation may well be referred to the causes which I have stated; the Jews have formed in Ethiopia a separate community. Whoever may have been the Apostle of the Abyssinians, the establishment of Christianity among them cannot, I think, be dated later than the end of the third century; because their baptism, not only in the use of trine immersion, but in the custom of affording the support of "susceptores" to the baptised person, and in the distribution of milk and honey when the ceremony was concluded,\* agrees so nearly with the expressions of Tertullian.—"Let "us thrice be plunged and from thence support-

<sup>\*</sup> See Ludolph.

"ed; Let us taste the partaking of milk and honey."

Their refusal of special auricular confession, to which the Jesuits could never persuade them, shews that the latest date of their doctrinal polity must be previous to the eighth century; while their use of the name of chest for the table or altar on which the elements of the Eucharist are laid, makes it evident that this custom is of far greater antiquity; for it must have been received either before or soon after the Church from the the cessation of persecutions at the command of Constantine, had lost the usage acquired in those perilous days, in which the Christian worshippers, preserving in a chest the bones of those who had fallen martyrs to their profession of faith,\* partook of the Eucharist, upon that chest; conveying it secretly from place to place, as the vigilance of their persecutors might have required. It will also be seen on reference to the Abbyssinian history, that their want of regard to any councils subsequent to the fifth century, and their perpetuation of the disputes concerning the nature of the Sa-

<sup>\*</sup> Council of Carthage, Canon 14.

viour, which after that time ceased to agitate the Asiatic churches, afford some ground for supposing that their religious or literary intercourse with the rest of the Christian world subsequent to the æra of the Hegira, must have been so small, that we need hardly enquire whether such a book as that the history of which I am now endeavouring to trace, could have been composed in Abyssinia during the interval which elapsed from that period, to the commencement of the sixteenth century. The state of Europe itself will enable us to decide, that such a supposition is altogether improbable. But the language now in use in Ethiopia, is the Amharic, and it has been used from the beginning of the sixteenth century, when on the change of the royal dynasty into the Amharic line, the ancient language, or Geez, became disused, and was gradually less and less acquired, till at length very few of the natives had any ac. quaintance with it, even in the time of Ludolph.

As this book therefore is written in the ancient Ethiopic, the time at which it was composed or translated, must at least have been prior to the period of the Amharic conquest; and therefore, as regards its origin or preservation, we need trace its history no farther, than to mention the circumstances under which it was found, and brought to this country by Mr. Bruce.

It appears that he was resident in Dembea, at the time during which he was occupied in obtaining copies of all the Ethiopic books which were to be procured, or for which he could obtain a transcriber; and it is unfortunate that he was accidentally prevented from making those enquiries concerning this book, which he was so well qualified to have undertaken, had he been aware of its real contents.

It appears that having in his first examination, read that part of one of the later and spurious books, which relates to the voracity of the ancient giants, he was so struck by its absurdity, that he "had not farther patience," to read what must naturally have appeared to be so entirely apocryphal; and hence, from his narrative, no information is to be gathered bearing on the subject which I am now about to discuss.

Mr. Bruce appears to have been strongly impressed with an idea, that the Ethiopic was not

only prior in date to the Hebrew character, but that it was the original language in which written characters were first made use of. Had he examined the book of Enoch farther, he would probably have altered his opinion. It seems, at least to me, so far as my limited knowledge of these languages allows me to decide, that there is very satisfactory evidence, that not only the most ancient, but also the more modern of these books was originally written in the Hebrew language.

I forbear to mention several minor proofs of this fact, which are contained in the book which I have endeavoured to restore, because I think that the word to which I will now direct the reader's attention, merits a more detailed examination than I could give to it, if I entered at any length into the discussion of the other derivations.

In a description of the day when "The Lord of "Spirits shall place upon the throne of his glory, "the elect one, who shall judge all the works of "the holy in heaven above," the following words occur.

"The Cherubim, the Seraphim, and the Ophanin,

" all the angels of power, and all the angels of the Lords, namely, of the elect one, and of the other power, who was upon earth over the water on that day, shall raise their united voice."

With the Hebrew etymology of Cherubim and Seraphim every reader will already be familiar; but as this is the first occasion on which I have met with the third word, "Ophanin," I regard it as being calculated to afford a test of the original language of this book; since, whatever might be its meaning, it is evidently intended by the author to express the name of the third of those angelic existences, of which the Cherubim and Seraphim occupy the two former places, as "the angels of power and the angels of the elect Lord," while the latter expresses the angel of the Lord last alluded "to, as the other power who was upon earth over the water on that day."

It appears to me that in the Hebrew, the same name is to be found, in the same juxta-position with the Cherubim, in 1 Kings vii. 30. in Ezekiel i. 15, 16, 19, 20, 21; and chap. x. 2, 6, 9, 10, &c. and that in the two latter of these chapters, much light is thrown upon a description which is otherwise in-

explicable, by reference to the sense which the word Ophanin bears in the book of Enoch.

In the passage of the book of Kings indeed we may observe that the description is that of a sensible and material object, framed in conformity with Scriptural types, but still typically, and not simply representative; and therefore while we recognize the symbols of the oxen and lions, as appropriated to the Cherubim, we may conclude that the symbolic wheels not unaptly represent that power, which is described by Zechariah, as "the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth."

But in the vision of Ezekiel we have a description of the objects before typified in Solomon's Temple; a description, allegorical perhaps, or emblematical, yet applied to those objects themselves. And here again, after the vision of the Cherubim, (verse 15.) "Behold one wheel upon the earth by "the living creatures with his four faces. The "appearance of the wheels and their work was "like unto the colour of a Beryl; and they four "had one likeness."

Now the Hebrew word for wheels which is given by Kennicott's Codices, and by every autho-

rity which I have consulted in other passages where the word occurs without an allusion to the Cherubim, is simply, אפנין, unless where another word, is used. For the chariot wheel of Pharoah, Exodus xiv. 25. the word is written without any vau. The potter's wheel, Jeremiah xviii. 3. is written in the same manner. I have only been able to find one instance where the vau is present, Nahum iii. and there the word is in the singular only, אופן, The other places which are rendered by wheels in our translation have either, גלנל, or some more indefinite expression, as feet, or course, in the Hebrew. The LXX appear to have used τgοχοs indifferently in the places which I have cited, but it happens that the hexapla is deficient in most of them.

The word here made use of throughout the whole of the first and tenth chapters, is, אופנין, Aopanin. And it is remarkable that, according to a usual mode of the formation of Hebrew nouns, the word might be thus made by the change of an initial Jod of the root, into vau, the formative Aleph being prefixed; and that if this were the case, the two roots from which the word could be thus formed, signify, either to breathe or live, or to shine splendidly; both of which attributes of

life and splendour, are ascribed to the mystical wheels, in the description given of them by Ezekiel, for the word translated dreadful in chap. i. 18. has the peculiar sense of dazzling by excess of light; and in a synonymous expression in verse 22, the same word is made use of, which, in Judges xiii. 6. is applied to the brightness of the countenance of the angel of God, who appeared to the wife of Manoah.

That the word אופנין has been rightly rendered in the book of Kings, the context of that place sufficiently shews; but in this passage of Ezekiel I apprehend that it expresses, also, a mysterious name, like that of Cherubim or Seraphim, like them, synonymous with a certain symbol, like them applied, as we see both are by Ezekiel, to living creatures, and like them expressive of one order of those angelic beings who stand before the throne of God. And thus also we find that the writer of this book applies it.

Both in the first and in the tenth chapters, Ezekiel describes the wheels as being living creatures, "the spirit of life was in the wheels"—and ascribes to them "eyes round about," in terms which he does not seem so expressly to ascribe to the Cherubim.

If we compare this description with that of the four living creatures ( $\xi\omega a$ ) in the Apocalypse chap. iv. verses 6, 7, 8, we cannot doubt the intentional similarity of the two forms of expression. "In the "midst of the throne, and round about the throne, "were four living creatures, full of eyes before and "behind: And the first was like a lion, and "the second like a calf, and the third had a "face as a man, and the fourth was like a flying "eagle. And the four living creatures had each "of them six wings about him, and they were full "of eyes within, and they rest not day and night, "saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, "which was, and is, and is to come."

In the vision of Ezekiel, the four wheels are represented to be "as a wheel within a wheel," by which, if we suppose them to have a common axis, and to be placed at equal angles from each other; a figure will be produced, combining four equal circles in the same sphere, and possessing equal capability and ease of motion in every possible direction: but Ezekiel also adds that their

rings, or circumferences "were full of eyes about "them four."

Thus have we a most expressive emblem of continual watchfulness and unceasing motion, such as might befit those existences, of whom it is said, by St. John, that they "are full of eyes within, "and they rest not day nor night," while they are described in this book, as those who "sleep not" in heaven above.

This word Ophanin, seems to have been unknown to the Greeks; at least I have been unable to find any trace of it. Dionysius Areopagita, or whoever wrote under his name, thus describes the order of the angels in the presence of God. "Our divine Priest has divided them into three "Triads. The most holy thrones (by whom he "appears to mean the Ophanin) and the creatures "having many eyes and wings, called by the He-"brews Cherubim and Seraphim; and the next "place the powers, the Lords, and the Dominions "occupy. The third place is filled by the last "hierarchies of the heaven."\*

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Ταυτας ο θείος ημών Ιεζευς είς τζεις αφοζείζει τζιαδάς: Τες δε γας αγιωτατές "θρονές και τα πολυσμματά, και πολυπτέςα αγαλματά, Χεζυζίμ, Εζεμών φωνή, "και Σεξαρίμ ονομασομένα. Δευτέζαν τε φησί την υπό των Εξεσίων, και Κυζιότητων, "και Δυναμέων, συμπληζεμέναν: Και τζίτην επ' εσχατών των εξανίων Ιζαχχίων, "Αγγελώντε.—&c.

Thus one, who must certainly have been a very early writer, even if we doubt that these are the words of Dionysius himself: one who was sufficiently conversant with the Jewish phraseology, to know the terms Cherubim and Seraphim, was, nevertheless, ignorant of the word made use of in this sense, by Ezekiel, and in the book of Enoch. And hence we have not only an argument of the Hebrew original of this book, but are enabled to draw the inference that this ancient name had become partially disused by the Jews very soon after the apostolic age.

Yet, although disused, it seems not to have been altogether unknown to them, at that period. Buxtorf\* has quoted the following passage from the "Rosh Haschana," portions of which are esteemed by the best Rabbinical scholars, to be very ancient, and probably much earlier than the Christian æra.

"לא תעשון בדמות שמשיי המשמשין לפני במרום בגון אופנים ושרפים וחיות הקותש ומלאכי השרת:" "You shall not make according to the likeness of "my ministers who serve before my face on high;

<sup>\*</sup> Lex. Talm. p 187.

"such as are the Ophanin, the Seraphin, and the "holy living creatures, and the angels who go "forth."

In the use of the word Ophanin, we have then, not only an evident proof that this book was originally Hebrew, but we remark in it the most striking agreement, first with the vision of Ezekiel, and afterwards with that of the Apocalypse.

With whatever probability we might suppose that the description here given is borrowed from the book of the former prophet, it seems to be hardly possible to account for this identity with the Apocalyptical vision, by the supposition that it has been subsequently copied from thence; because if we even imagine that the quotation of St. Jude has been inserted into a later and spurious book, the difficulty will still remain of accounting for many quotations in the early fathers, from those books of Enoch, which I shall shew to be later than the one now under consideration; while it appears that those books themselves had, even at that early period, subsisted long enough to acquire a doubtful authority, with Origen and Tertullian.

If the difficulties in point of time were to vanish, we shall still support a difficult hypothesis, in supposing that there could remain unknown among the Jews or Jewish Christians, a person possessed of sufficient ability, learning, and information, to compose this book, while, though himself unknown or unnoticed in Asia, he should be able to obtain a copy of the Apocalypse, before it had circulated sufficiently to be known to the church in general; while he should also use such knowledge to no better purpose than to forge a book, which could be but of little interest till many centuries had elapsed; contradicting in it nevertheless the prejudices and the expectations, common to every Jew and Jewish Christian of that age, and setting forth with a clearness scarcely inferior to any of the Apostles themselves, the truth, that many ages were to elapse before the coming of the triumphant Saviour to judgment.

To whom this book is to be ascribed I do not presume to conjecture, but that it can hardly be referred to a Jewish Christian of the second century will, I think, be sufficiently evident from these and other circumstances which I shall notice hereafter.

I proceed to shew that another portion of this book has been written originally in the Hebrew language; namely, that which is entitled "The "Book of the Revolutions of the Luminaries of "Heaven according to their several classes, &c." which begins at page 84 of the translation.

After some account of the manner in which the various winds are supposed to blow, it is added, "The first wind is called the eastern, because it is "the first." It is obvious, that though the first and the east have no affinity in English, they must have had some relation to each other in the original language of this book.

Accordingly or in Hebrew is the first, and the same word is used for the east likewise. The synonyms given by Buxtorf for the word, are, "Antiquum, Priscum, Item Oriens."

But in the Ethiopic there appears no such coincidence. The word for the first, is indeed similar to the Hebrew, being **P** Kadami, (Ludolph 630,) but the East is **R** Tsebahe, (Ludolph 583,) which has not a sound in any degree like the preceding word.

"The second wind," it is added, "is called the

"south, because the most High there descends, and frequently there descends He, who is bless"ed for ever." But in Hebrew אובר Nagab, Auster, and אובר Nakath, descendit, are so nearly identical in sound, that the reason why the two are coupled together, is in this case also obvious.

Yet the Ethiopic differs again still more widely than in the former instance, for the Ethiopic word for the south wind is, Temane, (Ludolph 259,) while PMurade, is descensus, (Locus declivis quo descenditur) (Ludolph 421,) so that it may have also the sense of diminution. But with the meaning of descent, it altogether differs in sound from the word Temane which it ought to resemble.

Again, "The western wind has the name of "diminution, because there all the luminaries of "heaven are diminished, and descend."

But in the Hebrew, מארת Marah is diminutio. (Buxtorf, 408.) While מארב Marab is occidens. (Buxtorf, 582.)

The Ethiopic produces no such resemblance, for **77** Netega, is the word for diminutio, (Ludolph 305,) and although the above mentioned

synonym, Murade, has some approach to identity in sound with Marah, yet the Ethiopic word Arabe, occasus solis, of which Ludolph observes (444,) "pro occidente accipitur," is as unlike as the Ethiopic verb Dohea, descendit, (Luolph 485,) neither of them having even the same initial consonant.

As far as my slight knowledge of this language extends, I believe there are no other words which would at once give the required sounds, and also agree in meaning with the Hebrew.

One such agreement of sound might occur accidentally without affording the proof for which I am now seeking, but the reader will probably concur with me, in my assumption, that all these coincidences when taken together are a convincing proof that Hebrew was the original language of this tract; and from hence, independently of the proof already adduced, the probability is strengthened that the restored book, which, as will be seen is more ancient, must have been composed in Hebrew also.

I must add some proofs of the same kind which will be found in another portion of Enoch. They

occur in a part which appears to have belonged to another and different book.

At page 108, of the work of the Archbishop of Cashel, the names of the conductors of the months are given.

"These are the names of the conductors who are under them—Barkel, Zelsabel, and another additional conductor of a thousand is named Heloyalef. The other conductor next after them is Helemelek, whose name they call the splendid "Zahay." It is afterwards added that "The name of the additional leader of a thousand is "Asphael."

It seems to me that these names have all an appropriate meaning in Hebrew rather than in Ethiopic,—Barkel ברקאל is the Thunder of God. Heloyalef may perhaps allude to the thousands or legions of God. אלה, אלה, while Helemmelek, who is called Zahay, or the Sun, may seem to imply the ruler of seasons. עולם מלח. Asphael, the additional leader of a thousand, may also express, "the quiver of God." אשפהאל.

These resemblances, are indeed, as all derivations must be, merely conjectural, but if any weight be given to them, it will be found that the Ethiopic will not present the same coincidences, nor, as I apprehend, does that language admit of the same mode of composition with the name of God. I forbear, however, to enter into the examination of this subject, because the question must still remain undecided, whether the probable meanings which I have attributed to these compound words rightly belong to them or not. I will pass on therefore to enquire what evidence can be adduced to confirm my supposition, that this book is not placed in the original order of its arrangement, but that the manuscript from which the translation has been made, is, at least, faulty in this respect.

The number of chapters contained in it are 106, but in the manuscript of Mr. Bruce's collection they are 96, and the Archbishop of Cashel has noticed some variation in this respect between the Parisian and Bodleian MS.

This only shews, indeed, that the transcribers have not been exact in marking the several intervals which occur, but I mention it, as a reason which may dispose us the more readily to imagine, that other alterations may probably have occurred.

The Archbishop having given, in an appendix, the quotations made from Enoch by Syncellus, and having noticed the places from which the three first extracts are taken, adds, that the fourth is not to be found,—Nor does it exist in a connected form.

Of the passage, as it appears in Syncellus, I have given as literal a translation as possible, in one of the columns which follow. The second column contains those portions of this passage, which, as I conceive, are to be found in a separated form in the present translation; and I have placed the Greek text underneath, that it may more conveniently be referred to.

## SYNCELLUS.

But from the mountain in which they swore, and bound themselves by mutual curses to each other, for ever shall not depart from it cold and snow— Hoar frost or dew shall not descend upon it until the

## ENOCH.

Page 6 of Translation.

"Then they all swore and bound themselves by mutual curses—That mountain therefore was called Armon because they had sworn upon it and bound themselves, by mutual curses."

Πεςι δε το ος θε εν ω ωμοσαν και ανεθεματίσαν προς τον πλησιον αυτών, οτι εις τον αιώνα ο μη αποστη απ αυτό ψυχος και χιών $^*$ ; και παχνη, και δρόσος, ο μη καταβη εις αυτό, ει μη εις καταραν καταβησεται επ' αυτό, μεχρις ημέρας κρισεως

## SYNCELLUS.

day of the great judgment, unless they shall be caused to descend on it for execration.

In that day it shall be consumed, shall be depressed, and shall be consumed, and melted like wax in the flame. Thus shall it be burnt with all the works of it.

And now I say to you ye sons of men, great wrath cometh upon you and upon your sons; and the wrath shall not cease from you till the day of the slaughter of your sons.

#### ENOCH.

Page 2 of Translation.

"The lofty mountains shall be troubled and the exalted hills depressed, melting like a honeycomb in the flame"

# ENOCH.

Page 15 of Translation.

"Judgment has been passed on you, your request will not be granted you. From this time forward never shall you ascend into heaven. He has said that on the earth he will bind you, as long as the world endures. But before these things you shall see the destruction of your beloved sons; you shall not possess them, but they shall fall before you by the

της μεγάλης. Εν τω καιρω εκείνω κατακαυθησεταί, ταπεινώθησεταί, και εσται κατακαιομένου και τηκομένου ως κηρός από πυρός, επώ κατακαησεταί περι παντών των εργών αυτε. Και νυν εγώ λεγώ υμιν υιοις ανθρώπων, Οργή μεγάλη καθ υμών, και κατα των υιών υμών, και ε παυσεταί η οργή αυτή αφ υμών, μεχρί καιρε σφαγής των υιών υμών.

When we recollect that the two versions thus compared together, have passed from their common original, through the medium of two different languages, we shall not expect an exact coincidence of expression. Sufficient likeness however remains, to make it appear probable that the same passage is referred to in both these cases.

Thus it seems, that what was placed apart in one ancient copy, was found as a connected series in another; while the smaller portions which appear to have been omitted, strengthen the supposition that many changes must have taken place in the arrangement of this book.

It may here be remarked that several internal evidences of a former translation, will be seen on a comparison of the Greek extract of Syncellus, with the translation of the Ethiopic.

Chap. ix. page 7. "Then Michael and Gabriel, &c. looked down from heaven." The Greek has "Then the four great Archangels, Michael, &c."

Chap. x. page 9. "To the son of Lamech, saying, say to him in my name, conceal thyself." The Greek has, "To the Son of Lamech, saying, Go to Noah, and say to him in my name, conceal thyself."

Chapter xv. page 20. "They shall be concealed and shall not rise up, &c." The Greek has no negative.

Chap. xvi. page 20. "As to the death of the "giants, wheresover their spirits depart from their bodies, let their flesh, that which is perishable, be without judgment. Thus shall they perish "till the day of the consummation of the great world. A destruction shall take place of the "watchers and the impious."

The Greek has, "From the time of the slaugh"ter, the death and the destruction of the giants,
"the Naphelim, and the great ones of the earth,
"the men having great names, the souls which
"have departed from their spiritual, even as from
"their fleshly state, shall be invisible without pun"ishment; thus shall they be invisible, even until
"the day of consummation, until the great judg"ment, in which the great period  $(a\iota\omega\nu)$  shall be
"fulfilled, shall be fulfilled at once for ever."

In comparing these passages, it is not only obvious that they must have been extracted from different copies, but that the Greek must have been translated from a Hebrew original, by some

one who did not think that the word Naphelim required to be rendered otherwise than as a proper name. It is derived from the root "Napal," to fall down, to be cast away, or rejected, and thus having the signification of apostates, seems here to be applied to "the watchers," the angels "which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation." In the books of Genesis and Numbers \* this word is translated, giants, but it appears that there must have been in the original of this passage, two different words which were made use of, as the word giants occurs in apposition with the Naphelim. But while we have thus a distinct evidence of a Hebrew original, it will be not less evident, that the prototypes from which these two several passages are translated did not exactly agree; and hence we may infer, that the original manuscripts must have been in some degree corrupted, before the time at which this translation was made.

The testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, are contained in an apocryphal book which has been described by Cave, by Dodwell, and by Grabe, who published it with a preface; and it forms a

<sup>\*</sup> Gen. vi. 4. Num. xiii. 33.

part of the collection of Fabricius, in his codex Pseudepigraphus.

All these authors agree in considering it to be at least, as early as the middle of the second century. In the time of Origen, (A. D. 180) it was of sufficient age for him to ground his rejection of it, on the fact that it was not included in the canon, which certainly implies, that the memory of its author was already lost.

Grabe quotes a passage of Epiphanius,\* who, he observes, relates that this was one of the apocryphal books which formerly existed, and were sent by the Jews to Ptolemy together with the canonical Scriptures. From hence Grabe concludes that it was originally written by a Jew previous to the Christian æra. It appears to me more probably to have been written at the time assigned to it by Cave and Dodwell, and I shall not assume for it any greater age than is apparent from the quotation of Origen.† The author professed to relate the testaments delivered by the twelve Patriarchs at their several deaths. His object therefore was to give his

<sup>\*</sup> Epiph de mensuris et ponderibus.

<sup>†</sup> Origin Homilia xv. in Josuam.

writing an appearance of great antiquity. For this purpose he has in several places quoted the book of Enoch, as if the age of that book were, at the least, sufficient to make it doubtful whether it had been handed down by tradition or not. Hence, it is evident, that at this early period, the origin of the book was involved in obscurity; and so far as it was known, it must have been considered as authentic; or else the quotations from it which were made use of in the testaments, would have tended to injure instead of to benefit the cause which they were meant to serve. But my present purpose is chiefly, to shew that these quotations tend towards a probability that the book of Enoch was then in a dilapidated state: and that the more ancient part concerning the judgment had not been seen in its present form either by the author of the testaments, or by Origen.

The former author quotes the book so innaccurately, that although it is evident that he must have seen or heard of at least a portion of it, the whole could hardly have been within his reach; and it seems probable that he derived his knowledge of the book, from the report of others. In Test. Juda. page 609 of Fabricius, we find, "I have also read in the book of Enoch the Just, "that you will act with impiety in the last days."

In Enoch, page 136 of Translation, "For I "know that oppression will exist and prevail on "earth; that on earth great punishment shall in "the end take place; and that there shall be a "consummation of all iniquity, which shall be cut "off from its root, and every fabric raised by it "shall pass away. Iniquity however shall again "be renewed and consummated on earth. Every "act of crime and every act of oppression and im-"piety, shall be a second time embraced."

The Testament of Levi also, appears to allude to the same place, page 577. "And now my "children, I have learnt from the writing of "Enoch, that in the end you will act with iniquity "towards the Lord," &c.

And again in the testaments of Dan, page 652. "I know that in the last days you shall depart from "the Lord, and will offend Judah, and oppose Levi, "but you shall not prevail against them."

But if these extracts shew, as I think they do, that the author was partially acquainted with the book of Enoch; it will appear from other expressions in these Testaments, that he either possessed a copy still more corrupted than the Ethiopic one, or that he quotes also from another apocryphal book, under the same name, which he might suppose to belong to the same collection of writings.

He says, Levi, page 581. "I have learnt in the "book of Enoch, that you will wander seventy "weeks, and pollute your sacrifices, and destroy "your law, and defile the priesthood, and despise "the warnings of the prophets. In malice will "you persecute the just, and hate the pious. You "will abhor the words of truth, and call untrue "the man who shall revive the power of the most "high.

Although it is difficult to decide whether the whole of this sentence is meant as a quotation, yet the former part must at least be so; and I believe that no notice of the seventy weeks wandering, which is here spoken of, will be found in the present translation.

Another quotation in Dan, page 653, is, "I "have read in the book of Enoch the Just, that "your prince is Satanas, and that all the spirits

"of pride and uncleanness shall go forth to "ensuare the sons of Levi, to make them sin be-"fore the Lord."

Neither is any such passage as this to be found in the present book.

Either the loss of these passages shews that this book has varied from the original form, or they raise a presumption that the rarity or partial loss of its contents had tempted some Jewish author to make additions to it; as it will be observed, that although the present book makes no mention of Israel by name, the portions here alluded to, must have been taken from what related exclusively to the Jewish nation; and this is an error into which any Jewish author of that period was obviously very likely to fall.

From a part of Test. Levi, It appears that the author could scarcely have seen that which I regard as the most ancient book, for he endeavours to describe the orders of the hierarchy of the successive heavens; and speaking of the highest, he says, "In that which is the last in order, are the thrones, 'the powers;' in it praises are for ever offered to God." I think it will be concluded,

that had he seen that description which includes the names of the Cherubim, the Seraphim, and the Ophanin, he would not have passed it by without quotation, as being most apposite for the purpose which he had in view.

I conclude therefore, that we have in the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, at least some indirect testimony of the former dilapidation of this book, if not of the separate existence of its different parts.

Origen appears to have thought that there were several small books which had the name of Enoch. He is evidently speaking of the book of Astronomy when he says, "Not only the names of the quarters of the heavens, but also of all the stars are given. Concerning which names, very many secret things are contained in the books which are called Enoch." But because the books themselves do not seem to be held in respect by the Jews, I will not cite the examples which are to be found there.\*

He says of Celsus (p 619) "Without altogether understanding them, in examining concerning the angels who came down among men, he relates

<sup>\*</sup> Origen in Num Homilia xxviii. 2.

"things which have confusedly come to his know"ledge from what is written in the book of Enoch,
"which itself he does not appear to have read, nor
"to have been aware that in the churches, the books
"written by Enoch, are not altogether ( $s \pi avv$ ) ac"counted as divine."

In another place, (De Principiis, page 193,) he says, "In his book Enoch speaks thus,—I have "proceeded even to that which is the end." Which I think, may be understood as if it were said that the mind of the Prophet had gone forward, beholding and examining all things, &c.

As it is difficult to account for the application of the name of Prophet to Enoch, without supposing that Origen thought him in some degree entitled to it; I have translated a mavv, in its most usual and literal sense: concluding from a comparison of these two quotations, that Origen must have thought some books ascribed to Enoch more worthy of credit than others, and that he regarded some book attributed to Enoch, as a true prophecy.

Origen seems indeed to have classed these books, very nearly in the same manner as I now assume that they ought to be divided.

He is represented \* to have considered, that in the books of Enoch, there were, besides prophecies, books concerning the number and names of the stars; concerning the descent of the Sons of God to the children of men; concerning the giants, and concerning the last judgment upon the wicked.

Thus, while Origen evidently hesitated to receive some of the books of Enoch, it is probable that he agreed as to others with his Instructor, Clemens Alexandrinus, who,† when writing on the subject of prophecy, seems to have classed Daniel and Enoch together, although I do not perceive how the two passages which he has cited, coincide.

The passage of Enoch is, "I have seen the materials or beginnings of all things;" and these same words are cited by Origen and explained by him, on the supposition that "the mind of the Prophet beheld even the beginning of imperfect matter." In another place ‡ Origen quotes the

<sup>\*</sup> Origen apud Sext. Sinens, 28 Hom Num; "Origen "tradit argumentum Libros Enoch fuisse, præter prophetias, "de numero et nominibus stellarum; de descensu filiorum Dei "ad filios hominum; de gigantibus; et de extremo judicio "erga impios."

| † Εκλογαις Πεοφητείκων. 801.

<sup>†</sup> De Princip, 1. 61.

following expression. "There is one God who comprehends all things, but who himself is comprehended by no one:" and he adds, that "In the book of Enoch, things similar to these are described."

Having previously referred to the creation of all things, it may be supposed that he also alludes to the book "of secret things," in which Enoch is represented to have passed under the guidance of angels, through all the successive portions of the material creation.

The different terms however, in which these two passages are commented on by this author, seem to mark that a very different degree of authority was attributed to them in his mind.

I may here take notice of the remark of Fabricius, that the quotation of Syncellus, which has been mentioned as belonging to two different portions of this book, "is taken from the first book of Enoch:" and he adds, "Plures itaque librifuerunt, nam in Testamento Judæ, et ab Origine, Libri Enochi memorantur."

I do not think it necessary to add the passages which Tertullian has quoted from the book of the

Angels, nor to notice his strong declaration, that Enoch, was a most ancient prophet, to which declaration he has added a passage concerning future idolatry, which is apparently to be found in the 150th page of the Translation. Tertullian observes of it, "Denique idem Enoch simul et cultores idoli et fabricatores in comminatione prædamnat." His arguments however are certainly inconclusive, as to the authority which this book ought to possess, and as they may thus be supposed to have been formed on insufficient grounds, I will not cite them, because there can be no question that this book was known to others before him; but I would observe, that though I have found no professed quotations from Enoch in the Epistles of Ignatius, Clement, and Barnabas; there yet seem to be several allusions to the later portions of this book, which upon comparison may be recognized; but I prefer only to take notice of those extracts as to which no difference of opinion is likely to exist. I shall therefore proceed to notice some of the internal evidence of place, contained in one of these books, before I describe the mode in which I have endeavoured to arrange them.

In page 33 of the Translation we find, "After "these things, surveying the entrances of the north, "above the mountains, I perceived seven moun-"tains replete with pure Nard, odoriferous trees, "Cinamon, and Papyrus. From thence I passed "on above the summits of those mountains to some "distance eastward, and went over the Erythrean "sea, &c."

Wherever then we may suppose the author of this passage to have lived, his situation was such, that going towards the north in the first instance, and passing in his course some mountains, he would then journey for some distance eastward, before he would come to the Erythrean sea. In other words, he was situated to the south-west of that sea.

Although therefore this name was anciently used in a far more extended sense than that which is at present given to it, since the ancient acceptation of the mare Erythræum, comprehended not only the Persian Gulph, and the Red Sea, but also that part of the Ocean which washes the shores of Arabia, and to some extent, of Africa also; yet it will be seen that there are only two positions

where this description could be correct: one in Arabia, to the south-west of the Persian Gulph; the other to the south-west of the Red Sea, that is to say in the ancient Ethiopia, or rather the modern Abyssinia.

It seems also that an allusion to the garden of righteousness, or Eden, which is represented to have been far beyond the Erythrean Sea, confirms the probability of an Abyssinian origin for this portion of the book; because, on the supposition of the author's reference to the account given by Moses, that the Garden was planted "eastward in Eden," the relative position of that place, as well as of the Euphrates, would agree with the description here given.

While therefore the use of the term Erythrean for this sea, restricts the date of this portion of the book within the period when that name seems to have originated; such evidence of the country of its author as may be derivable from hence, will also incline us to suppose that this part of the books of Enoch must have been added to the rest in Abyssinia; and on turning to page 95 of the Translation, it appears that some additional inter-

nal evidence of Abyssinian origin, is to be obtained from the account of the winds which is there given.

At page 95 of the Translation, "Twelve gates "open for all the winds," are described. "Three "of them are in the front of heaven, three in the "west, three on the right side of heaven, and three "on the left. The first three are those which are "towards the east: three are towards the north "three behind those which are upon the left, to-"wards the south; and three on the west. From "four of them, proceed winds of blessing, and of health; and from eight proceed winds of pun-"ishment."

These winds are described by dividing each of the four quarters into three parts; and of the twelve winds thus distinguished, eight are said to produce rain, the two south-eastern quarters, with those nearest to the west south-west, and west north-west being the other exceptions. This description indeed does not agree with that of the climate of the northern part of Abyssinia during Mr. Bruce's residence there. He observes, in speaking of the ancient accounts of snow, that the climate must have altered exceed-

ingly; but he mentions also that the north and north-east winds blow in that part of Abyssinia for at least five months; and previous to the commencement of the rainy season, it appears that no rain had fallen at Gondar "for several months before."

Yet he adds, that as far to the northward as the fifth degree of north latitude, is a country "of almost perpetual rain."

It is evident, from the quotations which have been made, that the author of this part of these books resided on the southern side of some range of mountains; and on consulting the map, it will be seen that the country, about the ninth degree of latitude and thirty-sixth of longitude is so situated. Hail and frost might seem to be improbable so near the tropic, but Ludolph, although he says that snow is very rare in Abyssinia, says also that small hail is extremely frequent in the mountains: and this description must have applied to the country near Gondar, from whence it seems that Gregory, Ludolph's authority, came.

It is however to be remembered, that the mountains of Geez, in the south of Abyssinia, rise above the limit of perpetual snow, and that the whole country is extremely mountainous.

Ludolph says, page 28. "All Abyssinia is egre-"giously mountainous. So soon as you have tra-"velled two days journey from the Red Sea, you "must presently climb the mountains of Tigra, "among which Lamalmona lifts her head more lofty "than the rest.—But not only this region is a "plain that seems as it were planted with moun-"tains, for all the provinces, Dembea excepted, "are but one continued chain of mountains. "Among the rest the vast and high mountains of "Amhara and Samen are as it were the emboss-"ment of Abyssinia. Here are many Aorni, or "rocks of an incredible height and ruggedness, "insomuch that, as Tellezius writes, they strike a "terror unto the beholders: the Alps and Pyre-"neans, though very high, are but trifles to them."

To this cause Bruce ascribes the variable winds in Abyssinia, since were it not for the mountainous ranges, the combined effects of which produce winds in every direction, the country would be subject to winds nearly coincident with the regular monsoons. Thus it will be seen that the qualities ascribed to the various winds in this book may very probably be referred to the geographical position

which has been already mentioned. A great preponderance of rain must be expected there; because it contains the White River, the source to which Bruce especially refers the overflowing of the Nile; while a climate variable between considerable cold and extreme heat, according to the elevation, must also result from the inequality of the surface. Whatever weight these observations may carry with them, it may be added, that a country of variable winds, to the S. W. of the Persian Gulph, does not, as I imagine, exist; nor any other situation under the necessary parallels of latitude, in which we can suppose snow and occasional cold to be known to the natives. It may be inferred indeed that a very different temperature to that which we ourselves regard as cold, would be considered as such, by persons accustomed to the occasional occurrence of extreme heat, and to a climate in general more temperate than our's; and therefore we may regard these expressions as comparative, and rather as indicating the inconvenience felt by a native, than as marking any precise thermometrical degree of cold.

With regard to the hot wind which is here said

to blow from the south-east, and to the "scorching "and perdition" ascribed to the south-west quarter, we must remember that Abyssinia, like Arabia, is occasionally subject to that terrible scourge the Mr, Bruce mentions that in his journey Simoom. over the mountains of Chigre or Tigra, he himself experienced the evil effects of it. "Idris, our "guide, called out, fall upon your faces! for here "is the Simoom! I saw from the south-east a "haze come in colour like the purple part of a "rainbow, but not so thick. It did not occupy "twenty yards in breadth, and was about twelve " feet from the ground. We all lay flat upon the "ground as if dead, till Idris told us it was blown "over. The meteor or purple haze which I had "seen was indeed passed, but the light air that "still blew was of heat to threaten suffocation. "For my part I found distinctly in my breast that "I had imbibed a part of it, nor was I free of an "asthmatic affection till near two years afterward."

Thus the hot wind ascribed to the south-east as well as the destruction from the south-west may be accounted for, if we refer the description to the elimate of Abyssinia. Nor is the fact that this effect is not attributed to the south wind, unimportant. The high range of the mountains, to the southward, running nearly east and west, it will be seen that the hot winds could only occur, when driven from the deserts to the westward, or from the country to the S. E. without passing over the mountains, and thus becoming cooled by its contact with their snowy elevations.

If then we can only refer the expression of a wind which carries with it "heat and perdition" to the Samiel or Simoom, and if as I believe, this wind is confined to the deserts of Africa and Arabia and to the intermediate country, it seems that the conjunction of this occurrence, with that of snow under the same climate, can only be accounted for by the presence of such mountains, as we know are to be found in Abyssinia.

But this author (Translation page 28,) gives also a general description of the course of the rivers, which seems to agree very remarkably with the map of Abyssinia, published by Mr. Bruce.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Travels, vol. 5.

"Seven high mountains I beheld, higher than "all the mountains of the earth, from which frost "proceeds, while days, seasons, and years, depart "and pass away."

"Seven rivers I beheld on earth, greater than all "rivers, One of which takes its course from the "west. Into a great sea, its water flows. Two "come from the north to the sea, their waters "flowing into the Erythrean sea, on the east. And "with respect to the remainder, four take their "course in the cavity of the north, two to their sea "the Erythrean sea, and two are poured into a "great sea, where also it is said there is a desert."

The map of Mr. Bruce's travels represents four large rivers, as taking their rise in the mountains to the southward of Dembea, and running with east and south-east courses, into the sea on the eastern coast.

The same map shews not only the Nile running to the northward after leaving the lake of Dembea, and gradually forming a half circle as it passes through the mountains, but also another river, now known as the "Bahr el Abiad," which joins the Nile at some distance to the northward, hav-

ing taken its rise far in the south-west part of Abyssinia.

Of this river Mr. Bruce says, when speaking of the causes of the annual inundation of the Nile, "All would not find their way into Egypt were it "not for the white river, which rising in a country "of almost perpetual rain, joins to it a never fail-"ing stream, equal to the Nile itself."

As I have not the means of consulting the original manuscript, I can only conjecture from the map laid down by Mr. Bruce, that the river here spoken of as flowing into a great sea, may possibly be that portion of the Nile which runs from the eastward before it empties itself into the great lake of Dembea. This may be the case without any impeachment of the accuracy of the learned translator, because it may have happened that the Ethiopic word here used was "Bahere," of which word Ludolph says, (Lexicon 228,) "Nomen generale est, et tam mare, quam lacus, " stagna, et flumina magna, complectitur." the rather inclined to this supposition from observing that the sea, is also mentioned immediately afterwards, as if there were some distinction between the two meanings.

If these conjectures may be admissible, the account which is given of the rivers in this book, agrees very exactly with the account given by Mr. Bruce, while we are able to draw another inference from the assertion that of these rivers, some flow to the south, and others to the north, since, it necessarily follows, that they must rise in a very mountainous country, such as Abyssinia is represented to be.

But in the book of Astronomy, an account is given of the lengthening of the days, from which the Archbishop of Cashel has most satisfactorily shewn that the author of this portion must have lived in a country having, at least, forty-five degrees north latitude, (Pr. Dissertation, page 37.) "At that period the day is longer than the night, being twice as long as the night, but the night is "shortened and becomes six parts." (Trans. p 87.)

Thus, it is evident, that the work of at least two different authors, living in countries removed from one another, by not less than thirty degrees of latitude, is combined in one portion of this book; and I have endeavoured to trace out this fact the more distinctly, because, it will thus be probable,

that other parts of these writings have undergone the same accidental or wilful transposition, or alteration, which must have occurred in the present instance.

It must necessarily be inferred that the part which is of Abyssinian origin, is the most modern; and hence arises another presumption of the antiquity of the former parts; because even this addition itself was, written, as I have already shewn, in the Hebrew language.

Hence also, as the composition which is referable only to a northern latitude, may have originated, according to the opinion expressed by the learned Translator, among some of those Jews of the dispersion, who were situated farthest to the northward; the discovery of this book in a situation so remote from its origin would lead to the inference, that any other books under the name of Enoch, which might be found between these two extreme points, might also be combined by transcribers, and transmitted to later ages, under the same name.

It appears indeed, from the construction of the astronomical tables of the solar and lunar year,

that this book must not only have been written by a Hebrew, but that the knowledge contained in it must have been obtained from the Egyptian or Chaldean astronomers.

Both the lunar and solar year are described, and in the latter, under the names of their presiding angels, four intercalated days seem to be alluded to, one in each quarter of the year, and thus there is a degree of similarity to the Julian calendar, which might seem to argue the priority of that reformation to this part of the book of Enoch. Other circumstances however, militate against this If indeed the author of the book supposition. were acquainted with the reformed calendar, he must also have been aware of the manner in which the more ancient Roman calendar was constructed; and had he meant to allude to the Roman enumeration of time, he would hardly have failed to use their most ancient mode of computation. But it rather seems that the computation of Enoch must be referred to the same source as that from which the Julian calendar was itself derived.

We learn from Pliny that Sosigenes, to whom the construction of that calendar was entrusted, was either himself an Egyptian, or had acquired his knowledge of astronomy in Egypt. Hence, as the ancient Egyptian year consisted of twelve months of thirty days, with five days added at the end, the principle on which the Julian reformation was conducted was evidently derived from the Egyptian mode of computation; and thus, as will hereafter be shewn, it may be supposed that the method here made use of, and that of Sosigenes, had a common origin.

It will be seen that the commencement of the year coincides with the Jewish computation, while the lunar year is also reckoned in correspondence with theirs, although no notice is taken of their embolimic month of Adar. But it is remarkable that the ancient Jewish months agree with the computation here used for the solar year, since they were certainly months of thirty days each; this mode of calculation being used in the book of Genesis. In chap. vii. 11. it is said, that " in the " second month, the seventeenth day of the month, " the windows of heaven were opened;" and while the time during which the waters prevailed on the earth is stated as "an hundred and fifty days,"

(chap. vii. 24.) it is declared, (chap. viii. 3.) that at "the end of the hundred and fifty days the "waters were abated; and the ark rested in the "seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the "month."

Thus there were in five complete months, an hundred and fifty days: in other words, each month contained thirty days. If then we attribute this book to a Jewish author, the inference from the length ascribed to the solar months, would be that he lived at a very early period; and since the book was written in Hebrew, the omission of any names for the months would lead to the same conclusion.

As the length of the solar year is also fixed by him at 364 days, and as several repetitions of this computation forbid the supposition that there can have been any error of transcription in this number; it would seem that the astronomical knowledge of that period had not attained to the precision which shewed that five days at least, must be added to the solar months: and from hence also it might be inferred that the date of this composition must be prior to the æra of Nabonassar.

I do not indeed consider these conjectures as being in themselves, at all conclusive; but they acquire a greater value, as tending to the same conclusion, to which arguments derived from other sources, will be seen also to point.

Assuming then for the present, that we may rightly be guided by internal evidence, in considering whether the book of Enoch is now separable into what were once the various books under that title; I shall proceed to extract from it those portions which I conceive to have formed the most ancient book; merely noticing the probable places to which I imagine that the portions rejected ought to belong.

Supposing the Prophecy of Enoch to be recoverable, we need be in no doubt as to the subject to which it relates; for St. Jude in express terms declares, that it was a prophecy of the punishment of evil men, at the coming of the Lord to judgment. "There are certain men crept in una-"wares, who were before of old ordained unto this "condemnation; ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the "only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ."

"These are spots in your feasts of charity.—Wandering stars to whom is reserved the blackness of
darkness for ever. And Enoch also, the seventh
from Adam, prophecied of these."

Now if a book formerly interpolated or corrupted, be within the possibility of restoration, we must, at least, know where to begin-We must know what was its subject, and if the book has not been wilfully altered, but is only in a corrupt state from the reiterated carelessness of transcribers; the beginning of the book will, at any rate, be free from fault, because that is the only part of it which cannot have been subject to these accidental changes. Such is the case with the book now before us, which begins by a statement of the subject agreeing with the account given by St. Jude. If then it be practicable, to free the book from subsequent additions, the subject thus begun must be expected to continue, and if any interruptions manifestly irrelevant occur, it will be probable that these are interpolations; more especially if any traces of a regular progress of the former subject, should be discoverable in the other parts.

I think it will appear that the rule thus laid

down, of following the subject when once commenced, is applicable to the present enquiry; and that the portions thus rejected, may seem naturally and properly to connect themselves, with the other subjects on which the later books appear to have been written.

It would seem that there is a wide difference between what is commonly called a conjectural text, and such as that which I have endeavoured to reconstruct. In the former case conjectures are made with regard to the component parts of the passages under consideration; but this sort of emendation I have carefully avoided: and the text, as restored, is left precisely in its original state; while the only purpose for which conjecture has been considered as admissible, is, as to the rejection of such passages as appeared to belong to other subjects. And thus though, arranged, this text is not in any place amended by conjecture.

It is very true that from any book which might be written in a desultory style, or in which many digressions were to be found, we might omit those digressions, and form a more connected series of writing by this process. But then we should be obliged entirely to reject the intermediate portions, since they could not possibly be made to assimilate sufficiently to assume a consecutive form.

On the contrary, in the present case, the change which is required for the emendation of one text, amends another also; and it will be found, on inspecting the table of alterations which I have added to this enquiry, that the other books, which are now disjointed and intermixed, thus acquire a more regular structure, and become far more distinct in their relation to the several subjects treated of, than they are at present. And hence it seems that we have internal evidence, decisive as to the fact that one book must have existed before the others, and that these additions have been partially intermingled with the original subject.

I assume that what would thus appear to have been added is necessarily later than the rest, because, it will be admitted, that there could be no conceivable motive for wilfully interpolating fragments, which should seem to have no connexion with one another, and neither serve to raise the credit, nor diminish the obscurity of the books to which they were added.

If on the other hand we look at the book concerning the future judgment, even in the comparatively complete and uninterrupted form to which I have endeavoured to reduce it; we shall be rather inclined to the supposition that had it primarily existed, as an apocryphal writing compiled after the other books with which it is now intermingled; the author who had thus composed it, would rather have trusted to the impression which the imposing style and scriptural sentiments contained in it, might be supposed to make in its favor, than have made the novelty of his additions only the more palpable, by mingling them with writings, which must have been already known as having existed, for at least some years.

I think it may be taken for granted, that if any author had forged a pseudo prophetic book on the judgment, and added it to the Apocryphal books already existing, he would have added it in such a form as should best support its reputation, and shew by the excellence of the composition, according to whatever might be the composer's idea of excellence, that it at was not unworthy of examination.

I shall therefore proceed with my analysis of this book, guided by the rule which I have already laid down.

In the second page of the Archbishop of Cashel's translation, immediately after the passage quoted from this book by St. Jude, there is a sudden transition; the subject is abruptly changed, and the book proceeds with the words, "All who are in "the heavens know what is transacted there." And here I conceive that the first interpolation occurs. But from this place, for a space of more than forty pages, (to page 45,) although the subject is several times interrupted, and a portion of a vision is interposed which in some degree resembles the commencement of the book; yet the passage abruptly broken does not seem to be resumed, till at the 45th page, the enumeration of the stars, &c. is as suddenly suspended, leaving that subject also apparently incomplete. The 45th chapter then begins with a title, evidently added by some transcriber, for it does not correctly describe what follows; and the next words which occur are, "Heaven they "shall not ascend, nor shall they come upon the "earth; This shall be the portion of sinners who

"deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and who "are thus reserved for the day of punishment and "affliction."

But this is at least perfectly coherent with the former fragment. They who shall not ascend nor come upon the renovated earth, are the sinners and the ungodly, just before mentioned; and the sense of the denunciation there commenced against them, is continued so as to make the description of their fate complete.

The subject thus resumed remains unbroken for the next page, when a portion of one of the visions left unfinished in the former space, appears to intervene. My reasons for the rejection of these portions, which at first sight appear to relate to the subject of the judgment, are that the first book appears to speak of "that day" only, without reference to place, while these rejected parts contain a successive enumeration of places seen after each other, with a constant allusion to the former book of secret things, which afterwards also occupies a considerable space, occurring in a more connected form. These portions likewise contain some apparent imitations of passages which afterwards

occur, in that which I judge to be the older book, while the expressions found in the latter, are distorted and exaggerated in the imitation, as if they had been misunderstood.

Thus, to the Son of man, instead of the office of judgment, that of "revealing the treasures of that which is concealed," is ascribed; and this is apparently imitated from the subsequent declaration, that "he shall judge every secret thing."

Moreover, it will be observed, that the same phraseology occurs here, as in the book of secret things, at page 41, of which description this appears to be a continuation. In that page and in the 44th, we have similar expressions. "I besought the angel of peace who was with me to explain," &c. "I enquired of the angel who proceeded with me:" &c. "and here I enquired of one of the angels who went with me and shewed me every secret thing," &c. But we shall find no trace of these forms of expression in that which I regard as the original book.

Thus also to the name of Ancient or "head of days," is added the description of Daniel, "whose head was like white wool." This internal evidence

concurs with the reference to place instead of time in these portions, to make their interruption of the subject of the older book so obvious, that this want of connexion; together with their imitation of the passages to which I have alluded, has caused me to reject them, passing on to the 47th page, where time again becomes, as it were, the measure of the vision.

"In that day the prayer of the holy and the "righteous, and the blood of the righteous, shall "ascend from the earth, into the presence of the "Lord of Spirits." It will be seen that this is very exactly connected with the last passage previous to the interpolation.

That passage is, "My righteous ones shall I "satisfy with peace, placing them before me; but "the condemnation of sinners shall draw near, that "I may destroy them from the face of the earth." Thus, to a declaration of the general happiness of the righteous, succeeds an especial commemoration of the reward of the martyrs. From this place the subject of the book, thus resumed, appears to be continued; except that a single verse in the 48th page, rather belongs to the style and subject

of the book of secret things. I have therefore omitted it, especially as it refers to place, and not to time; and it will be seen that the verses thus brought into juxta-position, appear originally to have succeeded each other. From hence, for a considerable space, till page 52 of the Translation, no interpolation occurs; but there, as in former instances, the subject is suddenly and entirely changed, and all connexion ceases; while the difference of style as well as of ideas is so obvious, as to have remained visible even in a translation.

Passing over for the present this interpolated part, which appears to belong to the book of the secrets of heaven, we have to look forward for six pages, to page 58 of the Translation; where the subject of the judgment is again resumed as suddenly as it had been suspended, and on examining the last verse previous to the interpolation, and the first verse of the resumed subject, they are found to correspond. The last having been, "The earth "shall rejoice, the righteous shall inhabit it, and "the elect possess it," the succeeding verse is, "Blessed are ye, Oh! Saints and elect, for glorious "is your lot." The correspondence of the two can

hardly be doubted. But only a few verses here remain untouched.

The book of secrets is again resumed in the next page, and continuing to page 65, ends as suddenly as before, with the re-appearance of the original subject; which is again found to correspond with the last place at which it was suspended. The last interruption occurred in a description of the eternal existence of the Saints, for whom "there shall be "light interminable, nor shall they enter upon the "enumeration of time; for darkness shall be pre-"viously destroyed, and light shall increase before "the Lord of Spirits; before the Lord of Spirits " shall the light of uprightness increase for ever." The passage which follows is "And it shall be "that those who have been destroyed in the desert, "and who have been devoured by the fish of the "sea, and by wild beasts, shall return, and trust in "the day of the elect one; for none shall perish in "the presence of the Lord of Spirits, nor shall any "be capable of perishing."

Thus to a description of the eternal life of the Saints, succeeds the assurance, that all shall be capable of reviving for the enjoyment of that life, since "none shall perish in the presence of the Lord of Spirits."

The connexion here also appears to be sufficiently obvious.

From the 65th page no interruption occurs till the 69th, where what is called the lxii chapter, again belongs to the book of secret things, and as before, the change of style and subject are coincident. No remains of the original book are to be found from hence to the 80th page, where at the 34th verse, it again appears. At first sight this verse may seem to form a connected sense with those which precede it. They are the conclusion of an enumeration of "the treasures of hail and of "frost, the treasures of snow, the treasures of rain "and of dew." But the 34th verse proceeds, "All "these confess and laud before the Lord of Spirits." This figure of speech might indeed be admissible, but we cannot but observe, that the subject has changed again, for the next verse relates to the state of the Saints.

Accordingly on recurring to the passage at which the last portion of the book was interrupted, the sense will again be found continuous. The

last verse ended with a description of the happiness of the saints and elect, whose "garment of "life is with the Lord of Spirits," and here is found a description of their praises, before the Lord of Spirits, whom "they glorify with all their power of praise."

Thus the subject again resumed, is conducted to its termination at the 41st verse, (page 81.) "Every thing wicked shall disappear and depart "from before his face; and the word of the Son "of man shall become powerful in the presence of "the Lord of Spirits." From hence, as it appears, one of the interpolated books recurs again, and at this place I judge that the ancient book ends, as the subject is continued no farther.

Two or three verses indeed occur in the 84th page, of which there may be a doubt whether they do not belong to an early part of this book, but I have not thought the evidence sufficient to justify me in so arranging them. I therefore leave them to the judgment of the reader.

From the 84th page at which the book of astronomy is commenced, it is continued to the 108th; and with regard to the book of history

which follows, I can add nothing to the observations of the Archbishop of Cashel.

It occupies the succeeding pages to the 134th, where two pages are occupied by a singular prediction; which however, on examination, appears to contain nothing which is not either to be found in the same ancient book which I have already endeavoured to arrange, or in the prophecy which succeeds it.

My observations on the chronological prophecy I shall reserve, for the present, that they may be placed after that part of the book as it occurs in its order.

I have now only to mention as shortly as possible those portions, which I have already omitted as interpolations, and as being evidently apocryphal.

They appear to consist of a book imitated from that which I have endeavoured to restore, of two books of the angels or watchers, of two books concerning secret things, called visions of wisdom; of a vision of the deluge as seen by Noah, to which the book of history already mentioned seems originally to have been annexed; and of the book of astronomy, which is consistent throughout, except that the 2d and 3d pages seem to have formed its conclusion.

Although the probable date of the book of history is apparently about the beginning of the reign of Herod, as the learned translator has, I think, satisfactorily shewn, it yet appears from its comparative preservation to be the newest portion of the book; since it is the only part in which there seem to be no interpolations, either accidental or designed.

I have already observed, that there is internal evidence of a great difference of latitude in the countries from whence parts of this book have been collected; and it will also appear, on comparison, that the account given of the angels in page 24 of the Translation, and that which is found in page 41, could not have been written by the same person.

The "names of the angels who watch," are thus given in the 24th page. "Uriel, one of the holy "angels who presides over clamour and terror. "Raphael, one of the holy angels who presides "over the spirits of men. Raguel, one of the holy "angels, who inflicts punishment on the world, "and the luminaries. Michael, one of the holy

"angels, who presiding over human virtue, com"mands the nations. Sarakiel, one of the holy
"angels, who presides over the children of men
"that transgress. Gabriel, one of the holy angels,
"who presides over Ikasat, Paradise, and over
"the cherubim."

But at page 41, we have both different names and offices. "The first is the merciful, the patient, "the holy Michael. The second is he who pre"sides over every suffering and every affliction 
"of the sons of men, the holy Raphael. The 
"third who presides over all that is powerful, is 
"Gabriel; and the fourth who presides over re"pentance, and the hope of these who will inherit 
"eternal life, is Phanuel. These are the four 
"angels of the most high God."

Thus to Michael is ascribed a supremacy by one writer, while he occurs as fourth in the order given by the other. Thus also the office ascribed in one passage to Phanuel, is given in the other to Sarakiel, while the name of Phanuel is not mentioned at all. Again, different offices are ascribed to Raphael, and in the second list his attribute is the same as that which is appropriated to Raguel.

Thus, it is not only evident that we have here

the works of two distinct authors, but as it also seems probable that such descriptions as these would embody the popular belief of the time and country where the work was written, a presumption will arise from these differences, that we ought to consider these two portions as being of different age, or if of the same age, as having been composed in different countries. The formation of the names in both cases, affords another proof of Hebrew original, and if compared with the names and offices attributed to the angels, by the ancient Cabalists, it would appear that these are the more ancient.

In the Ædipus Egyptiacus the Cabalists are quoted as giving the names of the angels, Raziel, Jophiel, Tsatkiel, Raphael, Peliel, and Mitraton, as having been the appointed guides and teachers to the successive Patriarchs from Adam onwards; while it is evident that these names have been in part corrupted from those which I have already mentioned. A passage which is found in the modern Zohar, as a quotation from some ancient writer who lived before the destruction of the temple, attributes to the principal angels the following names and offices. "Chasdiel is so called because

"he shews mercy to the world. Gabriel, because "he exercises severity. Seturiel, because under "his wings he hides the sons of men from the "angels of perdition. Setaniel, because he over-"looks good deeds and sinful ones. Ketabiel, be-"cause he writes down good deeds and sins." I think that if we were to decide between the comparative claims to originality which these passages possess, there can be little doubt that the names which are found in Enoch, as being purer Hebrew, must be the most ancient.

The other books are very much mingled one with another, in proof of which I may refer to the 4th page of the Translation. From the beginning of the third chapter to the third verse of page 4, will be found to belong to the book of Astronomy at page 108. From the 4th verse to the 9th must belong to the book of the punishment of the angels, of which it appears to be a continuation from page 16 at verse 7. The internal evidence of this passage shews that it cannot be applied to men, for it is said of the beings who are addressed, "In those "days shall you resign your peace with the eternal "maledictions of all the righteous, and sinners

"shall perpetually execrate you." But as the subjects of these words are neither to be reckoned among the righteous, nor among sinners, the proper place of this fragment is thus rendered evident.

The next two verses, 11th and 12th of the third page, will be found to form the conclusion of that description of a future state of happiness on earth, which is contained in the 12th page of the Translation.

And thus it will be found in other instances also, that the rejected parts may be so arranged as to tally with one another, without any appearance of constraint, so that on the contrary the connexion of the various portions of each subject, becomes far more evident than it is at present.

I forbear, for obvious reasons, to make any more extracts from this book, since those quotations which are absolutely necessary for the fulfillment of my design, have already perhaps embraced too large a proportion of its contents.

I think however that the reader may agree with me, that the instances of admixture which I have adduced, are only samples of a confusion which seems very frequently to recur, and which is in many cases, if not in all, susceptible of such arrangement, as improves the sense and connexion of those portions, the places of which are altered.

That which I imagine to be the most ancient of these books, arranged in the succession which I have described, is placed next in order, and after it the Prophecy, which appears, in a separate form, in the translation also.

Before I proceed to detail the few external evidences which I have been able to collect from writings prior to the Christian æra, in order to shew that at least some portions of these books existed before that time, I will add a few remarks on the comparative difficulties of the suppositions, that this book was quoted by St. Jude, or on the contrary that it is of a later date than his epistle.

It is evident that if the Apostle did not quote from any book, he must have referred to some tradition so well known as to make his reference plain.

But the difficulty of preserving any tradition not committed to writing, through any given number of years, must be in all cases greater than that which is involved in the preservation of a writing for the same period; and as the difficulty of preserving an unaltered tradition must increase with the lapse of ages, we have more reason to assent to the possibility that a patriarchal record when once committed to writing should be so handed down, than we have to entertain the more difficult belief that it was handed down without the aid of any written document. Nor need we assert that if written at all it must have been committed to writing in the same age in which it was first made known; because so long as those who were contemporary with the prophet, and their immediate descendants survived, the necessity of reducing to writing the knowledge thus obtained, would not be perceived; it would be by the generations next in succession, that their need of some document to supply the want of the contemporary knowledge of their forefathers must be felt; and hence this probable cause why ancient records should at length be committed to writing, may fairly be balanced against the difficulties arising from our being ignorant who were the first writers, and from our uncertainty concerning the means by which their writings, or any portion of them can have been preserved.

As every father in the earlier ages of the church, seems to have been persuaded of the fact, that a book of Enoch did once exist, we must allow their testimony to be of great importance, and though the book of Enoch were never accounted to be Canonical, from the want of positive testimony as to its original contents; yet our rejection of the book from the Canon of Scripture, on this ground, might be consistent with a belief that Scriptural or Prophetic truths are contained in it; though too much mingled with apocryphal additions, for any positive certainty to be attainable, in our acceptance of the former, or in our rejection of the latter.

It is true that any writer of an apocryphal book under the name of Enoch, would certainly have placed in it the passage quoted by St. Jude; but it is also probable, that he would have quoted with scrupulous accuracy the very words of the Apostle; whereas on a comparison of the two passages it will be seen, that there is some internal evidence that St. Jude's words have been taken from that which is found in this book.

St. Jude adds the words, "And of all their hard

"things which ungodly sinners have spoken a"gainst him." But though these words do not
occur in Enoch, yet their general sense is to be
found there; and thus it is rather to be imagined
that the Apostle, who would not be solicitous about
exactness in words, must have given the meaning
and force of the passage which he quoted; than
that an apocryphal writer should have omitted to
give the exact words of that single passage, on
which he intended that the chief credit of his book
should depend.

It may also be observed that although there is not one sentence in the book of Enoch, as I have endeavoured to restore it, which is not parallel to some passage of the Scriptures; yet very few, if any of these coincidences are found in the form of quotations, or are so expressed that there is any trace of an endeavour to disguise the fact that a quotation has been made. For the most part they seem to express in an unpremeditated and natural manner, the same sense; although in words, the difference of which seems generally to have arisen from the context, and to agree with that internal evidence of the writer's course of thought, which

may be derived from it. If we compare the style of this book with that of any of those apocryphal compositions which are attributed to the second and third centuries of the Christian æra; we cannot fail to observe that it is readily to be distinguished from them by the mingled simplicity and dignity which characterise its pages. It must be admitted also that either an independent coincidence of thought with other prophetic Scriptures, or the utmost felicity of quotation from them may be traced throughout this book; while the subject, everywhere sustained with equal power, is never lost sight of, nor mingled with any digressions unsuited to its solemn nature.

Although the sense of various prophecies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and St. John is so amply given in this book that no doubt can be entertained of its agreement with the Scriptures, yet while I have been unable to recognize any direct quotation, it sometimes appears as if the passage contained in this book had been amplified by one of the Prophets.

It would appear that there is a marked difference between the portion which I have endeavoured to restore, and the later books which have been

confounded with it. That they have all been written in the Hebrew or in some kindred dialect is sufficiently apparent, as I have already endeavoured to shew; but there seems to be internal evidence, that these later books must be attributed to several periods. The book of Astronomy may probably be one of the most ancient among them, while that which contains the Jewish history has already been referred by the Archbishop of Cashel, to "an early part of the reign of Herod," and it certainly seems that an earlier date can hardly be assigned to it.

The absurd and legendary style of some of the allegorical descriptions in this book of history, and the gross legends of the Behemoth, contained in the book of secret things, would alone be sufficient to shew that no very early date can be ascribed to them; while the evident variation of style not only between each of these books, but also in the book concerning the angels, renders it almost certain that the books which we at present possess have been compiled from various sources.

Thus if we should be inclined to look upon that book which I have endeavoured to restore, with the idea that it must have belonged to a far earlier age, than those with which it is associated; the errors or absurdities contained in the latter need in no degree affect the credit of the former book; since they only serve to prove the ignorance or carelessness of those who added them, in not discerning the many evidences, from which it might have been concluded that both could not be the productions of the same author.

Whatever may be our opinion of the comparative authority of this composition, it will probably be admitted, that it is not only without trace of any such rabbinical interpretation of Scripture, as might be expected to characterise the work of a Jewish Christian after the second century; but that the coincidence of its pages with those of the Scripture, is also very remarkably characterised, by the absence of any signs of a previous knowledge of those passages which have a similar meaning.

I shall endeavour hereafter to shew that the arguments which arise from the chronology followed in this book, are not such as ought to induce us to fix the date of its composition, on that ac-

count, after the Christian æra; and I shall now proceed to collect such external evidence as may tend towards the conclusion that a much earlier date ought to be assigned, at least to some portions of it.

If some of the passages contained in the next chapter should appear to have but a slight reference to the question at issue; or if the testimony to be collected from any single source appears but vague and unsatisfactory; let it be remembered that from materials so scanty and so much interpolated, as all these ancient fragments are, the chief guidance which we can hope for must be obtained from the concurrence of testimony however slight; so that opinions derived from different sources may be valuable on account of their agreement, although taking each singly we might attach but little consequence to it.

## CHAPTER II.

I have already endeavoured to state the arguments which arise from the internal evidence attainable from these books; and in describing the principle on which I have proposed to place the several portions of them together, such passages only as were absolutely necessary for illustrating their connexion, have been produced. I have hitherto referred to no authorities which can be attributed to an earlier period than the second century; but in adding such external evidences of an early origin of these books as I have been able to collect, I have principally directed my attention to the remains of earlier writers; with the hope of showing, that although the nature of this subject forbids us to expect any exact quotations from the books of Enoch under their present name, their contents were yet extant from very ancient times, being referred to in such a manner as may enable us to identify various early fragments, with some portions of these books which are now in our possession.

If, indeed, the passages which I shall produce were found under the name of Enoch, it might be doubted whether they had not been collected by an apocryphal writer of a later age, in order to give to his forgery the appearance of antiquity. But as they are found not only under another name, but as ascribed to various authors, all of whom are, nevertheless, to be traced to the name of Enoch as their prototype; it is evident that they cannot have been subsequently collected, but that they present to us, on the contrary, some of the relics of that common original, which, as I apprehend, we now possess in a comparatively perfect and connected form; and which we may especially recognize in that book, concerning the future judgment at the coming of the Son of man, which I have endeavoured to restore.

I therefore assume, that if we can obtain from different sources various unconnected fragments, which agree in their general meaning, and sometimes in their very words, with the book of Enoch; it will be probable that the rest of those works, now lost, contained also other portions of that book; and especially such as we can still suppose to remain in a state approximating to

their original form. And hence, whatever antiquity may be ascribed to the writings from which these instances of coincidence are drawn, it is obvious that the book to which they thus allude, must have existed before them; for as the names of various authors to whom it will be found that the passages in question were ascribed, must have concealed their relation to the books of Enoch; so it will scarcely be assumed, that an apocryphal writer could have selected by chance, and incorporated with his book, such writings as had already been attributed to Enoch by other writers, although they themselves spoke of him under other names, of the true import of which they were ignorant.

Our first enquiry will be as to the existence of any fragments, such as I have described, among those books, which bear the name of Hermes Trismegistus.

These remains are, indeed, so confused and interpolated, that there is little more than internal evidence by which their ancient portions may be distinguished from those which are more modern; but, from the eagerness and incaution of the early Christians, their additions both to

these, and to the sybilline books, can be easily distinguished; since their testimony is usually so express as to some minute circumstance, or so careless as to anachronisms, that an attentive observer can hardly fail to recognize the difference of expression, when the original parts are compared with these later imitations.

Much confusion, it must be admitted, has arisen from the loss of connexion involved in the destruction of small portions, which have left the sentences, to which they belonged, so incomplete, that their sense can hardly be understood: but, at the same time, this very circumstance is a warrant of antiquity; since the destruction, which bears no mark of design, can only be referred to the gradual lapse of time, and to the errors thus produced.

It will not, then, be necessary to suppose that the books of Hermes, or any other ancient compositions, which may hereafter be referred to, remain unaltered: all which will be assumed is, that ancient writings are to be found among them; and since the books, called by the name of Enoch, could not be advisedly taken, at a subsequent period, from compositions already attributed to other names, that they must, on the other hand, have had a more ancient original. Thus Fabricius, collecting the opinions of the various learned men who have enquired into this subject, observes, that they generally agree in considering not only that Pythagoric, or Platonic doctrines, are contained in this collection, but that it includes also "λειψανα antiquissimæ Egyptiacæ doctrinæ \*."

Several authors agree in speaking of Hermes Trismegistus as identical with the Thoyth of the Egyptians. Livy mentions him † as Mercurius Teutates; and it will be seen, that the same ancient writer is alluded to under the various appellations of Hermes, Amun or Thamus, Thoyth, Mercurius, Zoroaster, Osiris, Idris or Adris, and Enoch.

That various appellations, or various actions and writings, should have been ascribed, in the long course of ages, to the same original, is not indeed to be wondered at; for each successive generation, interpreting in their own way the traditions which had been handed down to them,

<sup>\*</sup> Fabricii Bib. Græc. p. 58.

and combining the testimony of history with the contents of such books as might be within their reach, would hardly fail to add somewhat of perplexity or error to the difficulties which might already exist: and thus truth and falsehood, gradually mingled together, would produce at once a diversity, and a consent of opinion: a diversity as to later additions, and a consent as to the more ancient truths, which still survived. Hence that knowledge which, though common to all, appears to have been derived through separate channels of tradition, must have had a foundation in facts so early, or in books so old, that they might have become the sources of tradition to nations who have had little affinity of customs, or of language, since the earliest ages.

As I only seek to point out the apparent agreement of the names which I have mentioned as to the actions attributed to those who bore them, or as to the books said to have been written by these various authors; it will not be necessary to enter into a vain enquiry as to the origin of those traditions, which seem to have ascribed almost to every patriarch or hero, Chaldean or Grecian, from Adam to Hercules, the same knowledge of

astronomy and of medicine. It may be sufficient to suppose that this is only an instance of that accumulation of error, of which I have already spoken.

Without attempting to trace to their original source the traditions which have existed concerning Hermes, Osiris, and Enoch, I shall therefore content myself with pointing out the similarity which exists between them, with the hope of showing, that in more than one of these books of Enoch may probably be found the originals of writings ascribed to these various names.

Some authors seem to have been aware that these names were synonymous. Synesius \* speaks of them as the same: he says, "Αμους η Ζοροαστρης "η Ερμης;" adding, that he was "Ο Αιγυπτιος:" and it seems that this author took his opinion from older writings. Cotelerius † observes on this passage, that Synesius has here spoken of "some very ancient and wise Egyptians of the "same antiquity as Hermes Trismegistus." Conringius, who was but little inclined to attribute a great age to any writings, says, (referring

<sup>\*</sup> In Dione, p. 51. † Monum. Eccles. Græc. p. 564.

to a passage of Manetho preserved by Eusebius,)

'Sanconiathon calls Hermes a Phænician; while

'many relate that he was an Egyptian, and that

he was a contemporary with Osiris; but the

ancient Thoyth is indeed himself Hermes

Trismegistus, the teacher of Isis."

However little known the identity of Enoch, Hermes and Osiris was to the Greeks, from the ambiguity of language, this truth seems not to have been lost sight of by the Chaldeans or Arabians, even at a comparatively late period. Am. Ben. Joseph \*, in his history, says, "The "son of Jared was born, Enoch. This is Her-"mes. He himself is Idris, that is to say, "Osiris, the prophet." Kircher also (quoting from Abenephi) adds, Adris himself among the Hebrews has been called Henoch, among the Egyptians Osiris, and Hermes; and he "was "the first who before the flood had the know-" ledge of astronomy and geometry. He went " into Ethiopia and Nubia and other places, and "calling men together he instructed them in "various things. Thus" observes the learned

<sup>\*</sup> Œdip. Egyptiac. vol. i. p. 167.

Kircher, of whom it may be said that even when he erred, his errors seem to have arisen rather from too great a scope of theory, than from any want of knowledge, "The most "ancient Osiris among the Egyptians was "Henoch: and it certainly appears from the "testimony of many authors, that all which "the Greeks wrote concerning Osiris, and the "benefits which he conferred upon mankind, " has been imputed by the Arabians and Chal-"deans to Enoch." He adds, "The Hebrews "derive the name of Osyris or Asyris from "Adris, which, with them, is synonymous with "Enoch. The change of d into s is very com-"mon in the Chaldee." And this certainly appears far more probable than the forced hypothesis of a derivation from the accidental coincidence of this name with the Greek, " idoic peritus." On the other hand, the mission ascribed by the same Arabian writer to Enoch, agrees with some part of the present books. "The most high God sent to them "Idris that he might persuade them to worship "the blessed and glorious God: and he ga"thered them together, and rebuked them for their great wickedness."

As Isis is said by Diodorus\* to have been the mother of Horus, so the inscription on the columns also mentioned by Diodorus, represents her to have been the wife of Osiris. "I am "Isis the Queen of Egypt, taught by Mercury; "I who am the wife of Osiris. I am the mother "of Horus the King."

On the pillar of Osiris was written, "My "father is Saturn, the youngest of all the gods. "I am Osiris the King, who have gone over the "whole world."

Thus also a passage which is said to be "Fragmentum Apollinis Clarii in Colophone †," and which must certainly be very ancient, expresses the belief that Osiris and Horus were the same, a belief which must have arisen from an imperfect knowledge of the inscription on the pillar of Isis.

<sup>- &</sup>quot;O King! Apollo

<sup>&</sup>quot;Osiris! Horus! Dionysius! Sun!

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ruler of hours and times, of winds and showers;

<sup>&</sup>quot; Of day, and star bespangled night."

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. i. cap. ii. † Orac. Vet. Opsopæi, p. 7.

But as the Osiris here mentioned has been already identified with Hermes; so, under another name, "Thoyth," Eusebius has preserved the words of an older author: " Τααυτος ευρε τε " την των πρωτων στοιχείων γραφην." And Philo adds, "Των υπομνηματων γραφης καταρξας, ον " Αιγυπτιοι Θωυθ:" and as this name was joined with Mercurius, so Pliny\*, speaking of the origin of letters, says, "Alii apud Egyptios a Mercurio repertas volunt." Thus also Diodorus† calls Mercury "Γραμματεα Οσιριδος," the scribe of Osiris, while on another occasion he says that Osiris communicated every thing to Mercury. " Απαντα προσανακοινουσθαι και μαλιστα χρησθαι τη τουτου συμβουλια." A similar confusion to that which has caused Mercury and Osiris to be spoken of as contemporaries, has by some mythological or Platonic allusion, associated the name of Isis with Osiris, yet Plutarch mentions them so as to coincide with the scriptural truth concerning

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ηλιος, Ωρος, Οσιρις, Ανιιξ, Διονυσος, Απολλων,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ωρων και καιρων ταμιης, ανεμων τε και ομβρων,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Πους, και Νυκτος πολυαστερος!"

<sup>\*</sup> Plin. cap. vii. † Diod. xli. p. 10.

Enoch, that "God took him." "Ο μεν γαρ Οσιρις και η Ισις εκ δαιμονων αγαθων εις θεους μετηλλαξαν\*." Isis and Osiris truly passed from the state of beneficent intelligences, to the Gods." In the "Canon Chronicus" of Marsham many authorities are referred to as proving the identity of Thoyth, of Mercury, and Osiris; while the name of Hermes is quoted by this author as belonging to one of the Cabiri†.

Thus to Hermes, Osiris, Isis, Mercury, and Thoyth or Taaut, the same actions are ascribed; while the mist of fabulous antiquity, enveloping these names in one common obscurity, forbids us to look more closely into their origin.

It will be remembered, therefore, that I do not attempt to reconcile the various contradictions with which History so ancient, is encumbered.

I only wish to show that the works ascribed to Hermes, and to Enoch, agree in several places too exactly for that agreement to be attributed to chance; and having now mentioned some of the many instances in which the names of Hermes and Enoch have been used, as syno-

<sup>\*</sup> Plntarch de Isid. et Osir. 362.

<sup>†</sup> Schol. Apollonii Rhodii, v. 917.

nymous, I will proceed to inquire what fragments can be found among the works attributed to the former, which agree with the books of Enoch.

The accurate Cudworth, after pointing out many apparent interpolations in the books of Hermes, still asserts \* that traces of the ancient learning of the Egyptians were nevertheless to be found in them. In confirmation of this opinion, it appears, that while the titles said to have belonged to the books of Hermes have in many instances, a remarkable resemblance to the subjects formerly supposed to have been treated of in the writings of Enoch, as well as to portions of the books which now exist; there is on the other hand very little relation between these titles, and some of the contents of the books to which they are supposed to belong; so that it appears that the titles of more ancient books, may have been applied without much discrimination, to compilations belonging to a comparatively modern period. In speaking of these titles, I therefore assume that some of them, at least, must have originally belonged to works far

<sup>\*</sup> System of Un. p. 319.

more ancient than those concerning medicine, astrology, and chemistry, which, although under the same name, are so evidently of later date than the others, that I shall take no farther notice of them.

Clemens Alexandrinus\* speaks of no less than forty-two books of Hermes, and from this list I shall select such as appear to relate to the books of Enoch.

Hermetis Asclepius, or a dialogue of Hermes concerning God, the human race, and the world, was mentioned, as it seems, by St. Augustin, as the "Λογος τελειος." Fabricius, who could obtain no fragments of it, regarded it as being altogether lost. But the book which he has numbered as the first, is said to have been inscribed "Περι υλης;" this precisely tallies with the Greek fragment of Enoch, quoted by Origen, which has the words "ειδον υλας πασας," at the commencement, while it also agrees with a tradition, which Fabricius gives, on the authority of Jamblichus, † that Hermes wrote books "Περι "ολων αρχων."

<sup>\* 6</sup> Strom. p. 633.

<sup>†</sup> De Myst. Egypt. sect. viii. c. 1.

The words are, "Τας μεν ολας αρχας Ερμης εν ταις δισμυριοις βιβλιοις, ως Σελευκος ανεγραψατο, η ταις τρισμυριαις τε και εξακισχιλιαις και πεντακοσιαις και εικοσι πεντε, ως Μανηθως ιστορει, τελεως ανεδειξε τας δ' επι των κατα μερος ουσιων αλλοι αλλας διαβαλλοντες των παλαιων πολλαχου διερμηνενουσι." It will be remembered that in one part of Enoch, an hundred and three parables are mentioned, while the usual exaggeration of numbers may account for this dissimilarity.

Among the books of Hermes, mentioned by Clemens, are the titles of four, which relate to astronomy. Of these, one is "concerning the "agreement of the courses of the sun and "moon;" another is, "of the light of the sun "and moon;" while the others are entitled, "of the risings of the sun and moon," and "of "the order of the sun and moon," It will be observed that these divisions are extremely arbitrary, and being such as would not necessarily occur in every book of astronomy, they yet agree very closely with the different subjects

<sup>† &</sup>quot;Περι των συνοδων ηλιου και σεληνης." "Περι των φω" τισμων ηλιου και σεληνης." "Περι των ανατολων ηλιου και
" σεληνης." "Περι της ταξεως ηλιου και σεληνης."

into which, in Enoch, the books "of the revo"lutions of the luminaries of heaven" are
divided.

An account of the gates in which the sun rises is first given, and then the risings of the moon are described. The next chapter (lxxiii.) first relates to the months, and "the appearance " of their light," and is ended by an account how "the year becomes complete according to "the station of the moons, and the station of the "sun." Another chapter (lxxvii.) is afterwards added, in which the effect of the sun's light upon the moon is detailed. There therefore appears to be a remarkable correspondence between the titles given by Clemens, and the contents of these books; a correspondence sufficient at least, to add strength to the conclusions which may be drawn from other and more direct coincidences. I have already noticed the construction of the astronomical periods which are contained in this work, but I may add that Strabo mentions the division of the Egyptian year into twelve months, of thirty days, with the addition of five clays, "Τοις τριακονθημεροις δωδεκα μησιν " επαγουτων πεντε ημερας κατ' ενιαυτον εκαστον." And

he subsequently adds, "All wisdom of this kind "they attribute to Hermes." Ανατιθεασι δε τφ Ερμη πασαν την τοιαυτην σοφιαν \*.

Cyrillus†, also, after mentioning Hermes as the inventor of the division of ground, and as the maker of laws among the Egyptians, observes, "that it was he also who afterwards "learnt to make an exact account of the rising " of the stars." "Νεωστι φυσασθαι καταλογον της " των αστρων επιτολης."

Thus, by another course, we arrive at the same conclusion, that the writings ascribed to Hermes, were the same as those of Enoch.

The title of the eighteenth book ascribed to Hermes, is "Οτι ουδεν των οντων απολλυται, αλλα "τας μεταβολας απωλειας και θανατους πλανωμενοι "λεγουσι." "That nothing which exists is an-"nihilated, but those who have gone astray "choose the alternative, of destruction, and of "death."

It has been observed by Kircher, that "An"nius in his commentary on the Apocryphal
"Berosus, has asserted, That in the volume of

<sup>\*</sup> Strabo, cap. xvii. p. 816. † 1 Contra Julian, p. 30.

"Enoch was contained a remarkable prophecy concerning two total destructions of the earth, which should come to pass; one by water, the other by fire."

Apparently some similar corruption has occurred in the title of the 13th book, which is "Κορη Κοσμου." The contents of the two fragments which remain, strongly favour the supposition that this must originally have been "Καιρος κοσμου." The title of the fragments which follow, is, Εκ της Ιερας Βιβλου, επικαλουμευης κορης κοσμου, and as the grammatical arrangement of the sentence in this form is faulty, it becomes the more probable that κορης was originally some word the nominative case of which terminated in ς. In the latter part of the remaining fragment of this book, the following passage occurs, with an indistinct reference to the name of Asclepius and others, "who, from

"heavenly contemplation, looked forward to the "faithful certitude of a queen desired by all, "to search out predictions." " Οσοι της ουρανιου " θεωριας πιστην ακριβειαν εμελλον βουλομενης της "παντων βασιλιδος ιστορησαι προνοιας." It can hardly be doubted that the word βασιλιδος is corrupt, and that it should be βασιλεως.

Several additional fragments, or rather titles, were added by Patricius to this book, but I do not know from whence he obtained them. They are, however, in correspondence with the subjects to which I have supposed that the book must have related. One is concerning predictions, and fate, "Περι προνοιας, και ειμαρμενης." Another concerning fate, "περι ειμαρμενης," a third concerning time, "περι χρόνου," and the last concerning the stars, "περι αστερων."

But if these fragments of Hermes do indeed derive their origin from the books of Enoch, it is to be expected that some quotations from those books should have remained; for although the titles of ancient books might obviously be expected to survive the books themselves, which, in fact, we know has happened in other cases, yet the confusion consequent on the lapse of time might probably leave some little portions of the original untouched. Accordingly, I think that it will be admitted that more than one passage taken from the most ancient part of Enoch, may be recognised in the fragments of Hermes; and this appears undoubtedly to be the case with respect to the following sentence, which is found under the title which I have supposed to be καιρος κοσμου.

For the sake of easier comparison, I have placed the two passages in parallel columns, and have added the original words below.

## HERMES

"But this was the perceiver of all things, Hermes, who both saw all things, and perceiving, understood them, and understanding, had the power to declare and shew them. For those things which he understood, he wrote, and having written, concealed many things in silence, having also surely declared that every latter generation of the world should seek these things."

## ENOCH.

"Enoch, a righteous man, who was with God, answered and spoke while his eyes were open, and he saw a holy vision in the heavens. This the Angels shewed me. From them I heard all things, and understood what I saw; that which will not come to pass in this generation, but in a generation that is to succeed at a distant period, on account of the Elect."

" Τουτο δε ην ο παντων νους Ερμης, ος και ειδε 
" τα συμπαντα, και ιδων κατενοησε, και κατανοησας, 
" ισχυσε δηλωσαι, και δειξαι. Και γαρ α ενοησεν 
" εχαραξε, και χαραξας εκρυψε τα πλειστα, σιγησας 
" ασφαλως και λαλησας, ινα ζητη ταυτα, πας αιων ο 
" μεταγενεστερος κοσμου."

When we consider that each of these passages has passed through two different languages, from their common original, we shall not expect any exact verbal coincidence; but that identity which translation could not affect, is still obvious. In the first case, the redundant expression, "I saw all things, and understood "what was seen," might be regarded as an accidental similarity; and so also in the latter instance, the reference to a future generation of the world, might be fortuitous; but that these two expressions should twice be used together accidentally, although there is no reason why the two should be associated, in either case, will scarcely be regarded as within the limits of probability. Still less can it be supposed that these coincident expressions should have been attributed, by mere accident, to those very authors whose names of Enoch and Hermes, we

have already, from other evidence, observed to have referred to the same person. The obvious inference will be, that the book which is found under the more ancient of these names, is the original from which both passages have been taken. Nor when we take into our view all the coincidences which are to be found in these and other ancient writings, with the books of Enoch, is it possible to imagine that the latter contains a series of quotations from these various authors; because this would have been the very course most likely to defeat the object of an apocryphal writer, in whose production the occurrence of passages already attributed to different names and times, would have been the most evident sort of anachronism. Nor while we bear in mind that the book of Enoch was a Hebrew writing, is it easy to account for the manner in which a Jewish author should have obtained a knowledge of the very works, most imperfectly known to the Romans, or even to the Greeks themselves. We are aware how slight an acquaintance with extraneous literature the Jews or Jewish proselytes to Christianity could possess, at so early a period as the second century, which is, nevertheless, the latest time to which this book can be referred; and while to this knowledge we add the recollection how uniformly all Greek writers have admitted that they owed their earliest mythological literature to Chaldea or to Egypt; it will be only in consistency with this acknowledged fact, that we trace both Hermes and the Greek version of Enoch to that common origin, and consider their coincidence as a proof that both have thus been derived from the same ancient source.

As these observations must be equally applicable to any other fragments which have survived the books of Hermes, and which may be found to resemble those of Enoch, I will merely detail, in their order, such as I have been able to discover.

From the  $\lambda_0\gamma_0\varsigma$  uspos, Patricius\* has given the following lines, which appear to relate to the same original as that which is indicated by the foregoing fragments.

"Listen, O my Son Horus; for you hear of se-"cret knowledge, which our forefather Chamephes

<sup>\*</sup> Patric. de Univers. 1593.

- "received, having heard it from Hermes, the "writer of the memorials of all things."
- " Προσεχε, τεκνον Ωρε! Κρυπτης γαρ επακουης " θεωριας, ης ο μεν προπατωρ Καμηφης ετυχεν, επα- " κουσας παρα Ερμου του παντων εργων υπομνημα- " τογραφου."

Patricius supposes that by Chamephes, Cham or Ham was meant; but whatever weight we may allow to this conjecture, and independently of any supposition that different names were attributed to the same person, or that the descent of the sons of Noah from Enoch agrees with the relation in which the names of Hermes and Chamephes occur; it will be sufficient for the present purpose to observe that this passage agrees with those which have already been cited, in tracing to a very early era the origin of the writings ascribed to Hermes.

following words: "Ουτοι τα κρυπτα, φησιν Ερμης, "των εμων επιγνωσονται γραμματων παντων, και "διακρινουσι, και τινα μεν αυτοι κατεχωσιν; α δε και "προς ευεργεσιας θνητων φθανει, στηλαις και οβελισκοις "χαραξουσιν."

To the same book Patricius has referred the

<sup>&</sup>quot;They, saith Hermes, shall know all the se-

"them, and some they shall retain: but those things which relate to the well-doing of mortals, they shall engrave on columns and obelisks."

At page 160 of the Translation of Enoch. "When they shall write all my words correctly "in their own languages, they shall neither "change nor diminish them, but shall write "them all correctly; all which from the first "I have uttered concerning them."

Here also the similarity of these two passages would lead to the inference that they must have proceeded from the same source.

It appears, indeed, that Manetho used indifferently the expressions " $E\nu$   $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota \iota\iota\iota c$ ," and " $E\nu$  " $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\iota c$   $E\rho\mu o\nu$ ," and thus the writing here spoken of, if it be referred to an early period, may very well agree with the assertion that "these things should be engraven on columns."

Thus Jamblichus\* observes, that Plato and Pythagoras acquired their knowledge of philosophy from the inspection of the columns of

<sup>\*</sup> De Myst. Egypt. i. c. 2.

Hermes. "Κατα τας Ερμου παλαιας στηλας ας "Πλατων ηδη προσθεν και Πυθαγορας διαγνουτες, "φιλοσοφιαν συνεστησαντο." Nor is this inconsistent with the declaration ascribed to Plato, that he had written nothing concerning spiritual things as of his own authority: while Strabo \* expressly declares that although Plato acquired his knowledge of things celestial from the Egyptian Priests, they still communicated to him only a part of the mysteries with which they were acquainted. "Τα πολλα απεκρυψαντο" οι βαρβαροι."

The column, in Africa, supposed to have borne a Phenician inscription, which signified that those who wrote it had fled from Joshua, is mentioned by Procopius †; and although we may discredit the story, yet its repetition will still afford evidence of a general impression that such had been the ancient mode of handing down tradition. Nor did this custom become obsolete at an early age, for independently of the remains of Grecian records still existing on marble tablets, Herodotus appears to be relating

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. ult. Geog. de Heliopoli. † Procop. 2. Vand, c. 7.

what was by no means unusual, when he says \* that Darius ordered two columns to be erected near the Bosphorus, on which, in Assyrian and Greek letters, the names of the nations subject to him were engraved. In a subsequent chapter of the same book, it will be seen that this was not then an uncommon mode of inscription, because the record of the expedition of Darius against the Scythians was also a column, which was erected at the sources of the Tearus.

In the  $\lambda \circ \gamma \circ c$  repoc the following passage is also said to have occurred. It is indeed so obscure that I can only hope that I have approached its meaning in the translation which I have given: that it coincides, however, with the subject of the most ancient part of Enoch, can hardly be doubted.

Ω ιεραι βιβλιοι των αφθαρτων, αι τετευχαται μου χειρονας της αφθαρσιας φαρμακω χορειας, επικρατω ασεπεις παντως αιωνος και αφθαρτοι διαμεινατε χρονους, και αθεωρητοι, ανερευνητοι γινομεναι.

"O sacred books of everlasting things, which by me, a prophet, have been filled with very

<sup>\*</sup> Melpomenc lxxxvii. and xci.

"evil prophecies, of the period without end; entirely beyond destruction, through the times of every age, both incorruptible ye have remained, and unseen, being unrecounted!"

From the idiomatic mode of expression it is certainly improbable that this should have been a translation from Hebrew; nor can it be supposed to have formed any part of the book of Enoch; but yet it appears to express very distinctly the belief of the writer, that some very ancient book on the subject of the judgment had existed, while the slightness of this single evidence becomes more worthy of consideration, from its agreement with the conclusion which we draw from other arguments.

It is worthy of remark how closely the description here given agrees with the supposed fact of the preservation of this book, which, whether it be prophetic or not, has indeed remained "through the times of every age," unseen and unrecounted.

Again, we have the following remarkable declaration concerning Isis and Osiris, that "they "discerning the general destruction of bodies, "foreshewed among all the prophets this con" summation." " Ουτοι το φθοριμον των σωματων " επιγνοντες, το εν απασι τελειον των προφητων ετεχ- " νασαντο." And thus, when taken in connexion with the foregoing passage, and with the subject of the book of Enoch, the description here given seems not only to harmonize with the fragment of Hermes, but with Enoch also.

When we recollect that the book of Enoch not only mentions "the elect one," but also "the "other power who was upon earth over the "water on that day;" the following words may seem also to imply that connexion between the writings of Hermes and Enoch, which I have already endeavoured to trace; although, it must be admitted, that they may have been modified according to the Platonic doctrines.

" There was endless darkness in the abyss, 
" and water, and a spirit, subtle, percipient, ex" isting with power in chaos."—" Ην γαρ σκοτος 
" απειρος εν αβυσσφ, και υδωρ, και πνευμα, λεπτον, 
" νοερον, δυναμει οντα εν χαιει."

In the next passages which I shall produce, the resemblance is at least sufficiently obvious, to add somewhat to the probability of the other evidence, with which it appears to coincide.

## HERMES.

"Reveal thyself to the world with warning; and instruct with peace the cruelty of the people. Give to life laws; give prophetic words to death. Fill all things with joyful hopes. Men have feared the unrighteousness (which is) far from God: and no man shall sin.

"The earth was very sorrowful,' &c.

## ENOCH. (P. 12, Transl)

"Purify the earth from all oppression, from all injustice, from all crime, from all impiety, and from all pollution which is committed upon it. Exterminate them from the earth. Then shall all the children of men be righteous, and all nations shall pay me divine honours, and bless me; all shall adore me. The earth shall be cleansed from all corruption," &c.

I have given to this translation a sense which seems to approximate to the words made use of,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ανατειλον ηδε σεαυτον χρηματιζοντι τω κοσμω, 
" και του βιου το αγριον μυησον ειρηνη, χαρισον νομους 
" τω βιω, χαρισαι νυκτι χρησμους. Πληρωσον καλων 
" ελπιδων παντα. Φωβειθωσαν ανθρωποι την απο 
" Θεου εκδικιαν, και ουδεις αμαρτησει.—Γη παρην περι- 
" λυπος εξης." These last words seem to agree with one of the fragments of Zoroaster, which also occurs unconnected with any context. " The 
" earth weeps even on account of her children." 
" Αυτους τε χθων κατοδυρεται εις τεκνα μεχρις."

on the supposition that they require much correction: but in the original they are left unaltered, that the variation may be taken into account, in judging of the relation which these passages bear to each other; yet, in any case, it is evident that the wickedness of the world, a future peace, and a cessation from sin, are alluded to; so that the subject is the same as that of the more ancient parts of Enoch, from which, that which is here quoted, seems to have been imitated in one of the later books.

The obscurity of this passage is indeed partly cleared up by the testimony of Manetho, in whose letter to Ptolemy, preserved by Syncellus\*, we have not only a reference to Hermes, but a declaration that his prophecies related to the future state of the world. "It is fit that I" should answer your inquiries, O King, with "respect to all those things of which you wish "to be informed, when you ask concerning "things future, which shall come upon the "world. According to your desire, those things "shall be explained to you, which the sacred

<sup>\*</sup> Reliquiæ Sacræ, vol. ii. p. 257.

- "books written by our forefather Hermes Tris-
- '' megistus, have taught.'' '' Ημας δει λογιζεσθαι,
- " μεγιστε βασιλευ, περι παντων ων εαν βουλη ημας
- " εξετασαι πραγματων, επιζητουντι σοι περι των μελ-
- " λοντων τω κοσμω γινεσθαι, καθως εκελευσας μοι,
- '' περιφανησεται σοι α εμαθον ιερα βιβλια γραφεντα υπο
- " του προπατορος Τρισμεγιστου Ερμου."

Thus, while it would appear that both these extracts relate to the same subject, they both, in their different degrees, coincide with the book of Enoch.

I add another passage, which seems to have such an allusion to the same subjects, as might be expected, if it were derived from a prototype such as we now possess in the book which I have endeavoured to restore.

After some allusion to the course of the providence of God, the following words, as very frequently happens in this composition, seem to occur without any distinct relation to their context. "And that they may be interpreted to this purpose, there shall be great records of things done upon the earth, handing down to posterity, in the renewal of times, obscu-

" of living flesh, and of its offspring, and of the production of all that is made, the things " which have become evil, shall be made new. " Και αναλυθηναι εις ο εσται μεγαλα απομνημονευ- " ματα τεχνουργηματων επι της γης καταλιποντες εν " ανανεωσει χοονων αμαυρωσιν. Και πασαν γενεσιν " εμψυχου σαρκος και καοπου σπορας και πασης " τεχνουργιας τα ελαττουμενα ανανεωθησεται αναγκη."

It is evident that this sentence also has become corrupted, but it still sufficiently points to the same conclusion, as those which have preceded it. Nor is it improbable that the vitiation of these passages, when taken in connexion with the abrupt manner in which they occur, as fragments having little connexion with each other, may be rightly regarded as one evidence of their antiquity.

On the subject of the last fragment, it may be remarked, that Conringius \* has quoted from Julius Firmicus the observation, that the Egyptians themselves were acquainted with one renovation (αποκαταστασιν) of the world by water, and another by fire, (εκπυρωσιν;) and while it is

<sup>\*</sup> Conringius, de Med. Herm. cap. v.

very difficult to account for their possessing this knowledge, except by the supposition that fragments of early prophecy were current among them; it will be the more probable that those surviving predictions from whence such knowledge might have been drawn, existed at an early period; while the fact of their existence, under various names, will render it also probable that some original, from which they might be derived, had been known in times still more remote. Thus, in the book already referred to, Isis and Osiris are said to have prophesied of the general destruction of mortals. The same inference also may be drawn from the words of Jamblichus\*, who says that the ancients called all writings of the same nature by the name of Hermes. "Ερμου παντα τα οικεία συγγραμματα " επονομαζοντες."

I desire, however, to draw from such coincidences with the subject of the book of Enoch, no farther conclusion, than that the fragments referred to, being themselves earlier than the Christian era, while it is scarcely possible that

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. i. De Myst.

they should knowingly have been embodied into a later apocryphal book, they must be regarded as evidence of the existence of some prior writing. And since we have no evidence of any other composition from which both they, and the books of Enoch, could be taken, that this writing must have been contained in those books themselves. But while I am thus led to assign a very early date even to those portions of the books under the name of Enoch, which I do not regard as the oldest, I would be understood to claim for them no other authority than that which may be allowed to a record of the opinions of the age in which they were produced; while I shall neither attempt to assign to them any exact date, nor to determine the manner in which they became mingled with that portion which I have assumed to be more authentic.

But whatever similarity I have been able to trace, between the writings attributed to Enoch and to Hermes Trismegistus, is not confined to the latter alone; for although there are but few remains under the names of Musæus, of Pythagoras, and Orpheus,—yet there is a remarkable

likeness between the titles of books supposed to have been written by them, and by Hermes also. The Λογος Ιερος, the Τελεται, which may have had relation, not to the perfection of the initiated, but to the concluding period of the world; and lastly, the compositions under the more general term of Χρησμοι, seem alike to have been attributed to all the authors whom I have named. The equal credit due to these several traditions, would lead us to ascribe some common origin to these concurrent assertions; and we should thus refer them all to some single author in a very early age. We speculate indeed only on general grounds, where any exact comparison is so entirely beyond our reach; but since the resemblance which I have noticed cannot be ascribed to chance alone, the ancient existence of some prophecy from which the materials of apparent prophecies might be drawn, is certainly the more probable, from the necessity of accounting for such resemblances in some way or other.

Fabricius \* observes of the ancient Zoroas-

<sup>\*</sup> Bib. Græc., vol. i.

ter, "Verisimile est Zoroastris doctrinam gemi-"nam esse Hermeticæ, sive Egyptiacæ veteri, "ut ex eodem fonte profecta videatur esse." And it appears that one of the Arabian historians \* has asserted that Zoroaster and Osiris were the same. Thus, while we may add this name to those which I have already mentioned, as having been confused in the lapse of ages, some traces of doctrines, or perhaps of expressions contained in the book of Enoch, may possibly be found to have survived, among the few fragments attributed to Zoroaster or Hystaspes. When speaking of the latter name, Bishop Horsley † observes, "For Hystaspes, I "will not too confidently assert that he was not "the compiler of the writings which were cur-" rent under his name: but I conceive that he "was only the compiler from originals of high " authority." To whomsoever, indeed, we may attribute the original of these names, their great antiquity must be admitted. As the name of

<sup>\*</sup> Kircher, Œdip. Egypt. i. p. 131.

<sup>†</sup> Works, vol. ii. p. 218.

Zoroaster appears not only from sound but from composition to have been Hebrew, so it has been referred to that language not only by Bochart, but by other critics; and if we analyse it, on this supposition, it is remarkable that the sense of each component part agrees with the offices ascribed to Enoch. The sense of the root שור is "contemplatus est," while that of סתר is " latuit, abscondit se, abdidit, celavit." Thus it coincides with the purport of that passage already quoted, as found both in the fragments of Hermes and in Enoch, in which it is said that the prophet attained to knowledge, which should be hidden till the latter generations of the world. Whoever Zoroaster may have been, all authors have agreed in ascribing to the fragments attributed to him, a very remote antiquity. From Plutarch\*, who speaks of him as long anterior to the Trojan war, to Pletho and Psellus, both of whom, in their Scholia on these fragments, seem to have assumed that the Pythagoreans had received the doctrines found in them,

<sup>\*</sup> De Iside et Osiride, 369.

after a long tradition, the same opinion seems to have prevailed. Eusebius\* has spoken of Zoroaster as contemporary with Ninus; and Pliny† quotes Eudoxus, as an authority for ascribing to this name the most extreme and fabulous antiquity; for it appears that the date referred to by that author was no less than six thousand years before the death of Plato.

But such error at so early a period, is at least a sign that a tradition, even then obscure, must be extremely ancient; and although in the few fragments which now remain, there is but little opportunity for tracing any resemblance which may have existed between them and the book ascribed to Enoch; yet we may, in the first place, remark, that the same indistinct tradition has existed concerning the works of Zoroaster, as concerning these of Hermes. Thus Suidas calls Zoroaster, "Σοφον παρα τους εν Αστρονομια," and attributes to him works concerning astronomy and prophecy, "Αστεροσκοπικα και αποτε" λεσματικα." Nor will the similarity be found

<sup>\*</sup> Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. x.

<sup>†</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1.

less to apply to the titles of the more modern works ascribed to these several names. The same subjects of chemistry, of medicine, and of the virtues of plants, appear to be common to both; while the first of the four books under the name of Hermes, which have borne the title of "Kupaulõec," treats of precious stones; thus agreeing with a reference made by Pliny\* on this same subject, to the writings of Zoroaster. Doubtless many of these writings referred to, not only by modern, but by ancient authors, are alike supposititious; but still they may serve to mark the uniform direction of that constant current of opinion, to which some original impulse must have been given.

It is difficult to assign any other cause for these coincidences, than the original existence of some document, from which writings, under these names, having at first been taken, might gradually be obscured by additions or alterations; till at length the identity of their real source would be forgotten, as tradition became fainter with the lapse of years.

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. xxxvii. c. 10.

If, then, in the fragments of Zoroaster, confessedly so ancient, we discover traces of a knowledge of the truth concerning the future judgment, and especially concerning the agency of fire, whether natural or moral, in the purification of the world; we shall reasonably conclude, that this knowledge must have been gained from some prophecy extant at that period; and the resemblance in these fragments to the doctrines of the book of Enoch, will therefore tend, in some degree, to confirm the probability that this book existed in a very early age.

It will be seen that these expressions are, indeed, susceptible of such a metaphysical explanation as might agree with that reference of spiritual existence to fire, which has been usually attributed to Zoroaster. But the Scholia, both of Psellus and of Pletho, show how probable it is that these fragments have been misunderstood, when it has been attempted to affix to them a merely metaphorical signification. The difference of the two interpretations to which I have referred, will at least show, that thus interpreted, these fragments are even more obscure

than when we merely attend to their literal meaning.

Fabricius refers to Hyde \*, as having been the possessor of a book which he had translated from the Persian, in which the History of Zoroaster was contained: the subject of the book is said by him to have been, "De rebus iniquissimis "temporibus mundi gestis." And from the "Ouphnekat," or most ancient wisdom of the Indians, literally translated into Latin by Anquetil du Perron, it appears that the words of the ancient Zoroaster were understood to relate to the day of judgment. What credit is to be given to these accounts I know not, but they may perhaps tend to incline us towards the supposition, that any references to things future contained in the few following fragments, ought rather to be understood literally than allegorically.

We may not the less rightly thus interpret them, though the metaphysical subtilties of the Pythagorean school, or the later personification

<sup>\*</sup> Hyde, p. 328.

of the two antagonist principles, may appear to contradict such a supposition; because it is not improbable that these allegories were only a result of that obscurity which must have appeared to envelope any literal interpretation, when the reader was deprived of the knowledge of the events referred to. And thus the same description, which might present no difficulty to one instructed in the prophecies of the Holy Scriptures, may have appeared even to the wisest among the heathen, as beyond solution by any literal explanation.

In the work of Plutarch (de Iside et Osiride) the following sentence occurs, at the conclusion of an account of the doctrines ascribed to Zoroaster. "A time predestined shall arrive, at "which Arimanius, the source of pestilence and famine, shall, of necessity, be totally destroyed, and disappear from among men, and the earth becoming plain and equal, there shall be but one life, one polity, and one language among mankind, blessed and liberated."

<sup>&</sup>quot; Επεισι δε χρονος ειμαρμενος, εν φ τον Αριμανιον 
" λοιμον επαγοντα και λιμον, απο τουτων αναγκη 
" φθαρηναι πανταπασι και αφανισθηναι" της δε γης

" επιπεδου και ομαλης γενομενης, ενα βιον και μιαν

΄΄ πολιτειαν ανθρωπων και μακαριων και ομογλωσσων

`` απολυτων γενεσθαι."

The few fragments under the name of "ora-"cular magica," as edited by Opsopæus\*, do not amount in all to more than eighty lines: there is, however, some evidence of that knowledge of a future judgment, and destruction by fire, the source of which, if it be not attributed to the Scriptures, must be traced to some extraneous prophecy, elsewhere preserved.

In the fragments ascribed to Zoroaster by Patricius, the following line occurs:

"The spirit of the spirit is the maker of the world (reserved for fire)."

" Νου γαρ Νους εστιν ο κοσμου τεχνιτης πυριου."

As it seems probable that the sense of  $\pi\nu\rho\iota\sigma\nu$  is to be understood without metaphor; so also, I imagine, must the word  $\pi\nu\rho\iota\nu\sigma\nu$ , in the following sentence, be equally literal in sense:

<sup>&</sup>quot; Give up the soul (reserved for fire) to works of righteousness,

<sup>&</sup>quot; For you shall save the mortal body."

<sup>&</sup>quot; Εκτεινας πυρινον νουν,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Εργον επ ευσεβιης ρευστον γαρ σωμα σαωσεις."

<sup>\*</sup> Parisiis, MDCVII.

That the future judgment is alluded to in these instances, will appear the more probable from comparing them with a subsequent passage:

- " The heavenly arch appears no longer firm,
- " Nor shine the stars; the moon has hid her light,
- " The earth hath not remained; and by the glare
- " Of lightnings, all things are beheld."
- " Ουτε γαρ ουρανιος κυτρος τοτε φαινεται ογχος,
- " Αστερες ου λαμπουσι' της μηνης φως κεκαλυπται,
- " Χθων ουκ εστηκε βλεπεται τα δε παντα κεραυνοις."

It is evident that these lines can only have alluded to the destruction of the material earth; and those which follow appear to have the same reference:

- "When without form thou seest the sacred fire
- " Resplendent, crossing eagerly the depths
- " Of all the world, attend thou to the sound,
- " The voice of the fire."
- " Ηνικα μεν βλεψης μορφης ανευ ιερον πυρ
- " Λαμπομενον σκιρτηδον ολου κατα βενθεα κοσμου,
- " Κλυθι πυρος την φωνην."

From the evidently literal acceptation of fire, or of lightning, in these passages, it is the less likely that a metaphorical sense ought to be affixed to the word where it again occurs; and in the literal acceptation, the following line also

is equally significant, although, metaphorically, it hardly appears to have any meaning:

- " On all sides, for the disembodied soul,
- " Use the restraint of fire."
- " Παντοθεν απλαστώ ψυχη πυρος ηνια τεινον."

The annexed fragment, preserved by Sinesius\*, in which is evidently implied a knowledge of future retribution, may tend to strengthen our supposition, that a literal sense may be assumed for those which have preceded it.

- " Descend not to that world, intensely dark,
- " Where, ever faithless, the abyss is spread;
- " Where Hades dwells with darkness all around,
- " Foul, senseless, filled with mockery of joy."
- " Μηδε κατω νευσης εις τον μελαναυγεα κοσμον,
- " Ω βυθος αιεν απιστος υπεστρωται τε και Αιδης,
- " Αμφικνεφης, ουποων, ειδωλοχαρης, ανοητος."

In these last verses there is sufficient similarity to a passage of the book of Enoch, to show that one may have been the prototype of the other.

At p. 68 of the translation, these words occur:

- "Then shall the Lord of spirits hasten to expel them from his presence. Their faces shall be full of confusion, and their faces shall
  - \* Notæ in Orac. Magic. Opsopæi, p. 136.

" darkness cover. The angels shall take them to punishment," &c.

Whatever may have been their origin, it can hardly be doubted, that in the foregoing fragments is contained the knowledge of a future retribution, of an existence after death, and, as it appears, of a purification of the world by fire: and since we are entirely ignorant from whence ideas, thus consonant with prophecy, could be drawn by those who were unacquainted with it; so we have no reason to suppose, that the Scriptures, preserved by the Jews, could have been within the reach of this heathen author.

It remains, therefore, that we add to the scattered evidences, already noticed in the foregoing pages, our conclusion, that since the contents of the book of Enoch are such as might have afforded the materials for these doctrines, it is the more probable, that they were drawn from that book itself, at a period long anterior to any date which can be ascribed to it, as a forgery more modern than the Christian æra.

A similar conclusion may be drawn from some fragments of the ancient sybilline books; for although there can be no doubt that they have been interpolated to a great extent by the early Christians, yet portions still remain, the internal evidence of which appears to be nearly conclusive in their favour. Justin Martyr seems to have considered, that the writings attributed to Zoroaster, and those of the Erythrean or Chaldæan Sibyl, were drawn from the same sources, and related to the same subject. "The Sibyl " and Hystaspes have declared, that the destruc-"tion of mortal things should happen by fire." -- " Σιβυλλα δε και Υψαστης γενησεσθαι των φθαρτων " αναλωσιν δια πυρος εφασαν \*." And it seems nearly certain that the second collection of these verses, which was made after their destruction, in the time of Sylla, contained the sense of the ancient Chaldæan oracles. This Dionysius of Halicarnassus † has recorded: "The Sibylline "Prophecies, which we now possess, are collected "from various places; some, indeed, have been " obtained from the cities of Italy, but others "from the Erythrean regions; the priests in "Asia having given small portions, which, ac-"cording to the result of their consultation,

<sup>\*</sup> Just. Martyr, Apologia, p. 66.

<sup>†</sup> Dion. Halic. l. iv. p. 260.

" were in accordance with the original writ"ings."—" Οι τε νυν οντες Σιβυλλειοι χοησμοι εκ
"πολλων εισι συμφοροι τοπων, οι μεν εκ των εν Ιταλια
"πολεων κομισθεντες, οι τε εξ Ερυθρων, των εν Ασια
"κατα δογμα βουλης αποσταλεντων πρεσβευτων επι
"την αντιγραφην."

But if it be thus probable that this collection was made from the source indicated by Manetho, in a passage which has been already quoted from his letter to Ptolemy; the Sibylline verses being thus, in some degree, identified with the writings ascribed to Hermes, their most ancient portions might be expected to coincide with the book of Enoch, if it were indeed the original of the Hermetic prophecies. Before I adduce some passages which seem to confirm this expectation, it may be noticed that Pausanias, when giving an account of the death of a supposed Sibyl, adds, that she was associated with Hermes in the inscription placed upon her tomb:

Nor is this tradition contradicted by the words

<sup>&</sup>quot;With Hermes and the Nymphs beneath this stone I rest."

<sup>&</sup>quot; Αλλα πελας Νυμφαισι και Ερμη ωδ' υποκειμαι."

of Suidas, who says \*, "The Chaldean, or, as "some have said, the Hebrew Sibyl, or the "Persian one, was derived from the blessed "Noah."—" Σιβυλλα Χαλδαικα η και προς τινων "Εβραια ονομαζομένη, η και Πέρσις, εκ του μακα-" ριωτατου Νωε." And he adds, that she prophesied many things of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

If we compare the accounts of the various Sibyls, with regard to their comparative antiquity, it will be found that the Erythrean Sibyl seems, by the common consent of authors, to have been acknowledged as the most ancient.

Ælian speaks of a Hebrew Sibyl†, and seems to have placed her name before others, as being the oldest; and Strabo‡ has observed, that "the Erythrean Sibyl was a certain woman who "prophesied among the ancients."—"  $\mathbf{E}_{\kappa}$  δε "  $\mathbf{E}_{\rho\nu}\theta_{\rho\omega\nu}$   $\Sigma_{\iota}\beta_{\nu}\lambda\lambda_{\alpha}$  εστιν μαντική γυνη των αρχαιων "τις."

Cicero, who, as having been himself one of the Decemviri, must have been conversant with the

<sup>\*</sup> Suid. Σιβυλλα. † De Bello Goth. i. 24. ‡ Strabo, lib. xix.

contents of that second collection of the Sibylline verses, which had been chiefly brought from the East, certainly considered that their import did not especially relate to the affairs of Rome; and he drew the inference, that the book had designedly been made obscure by the omission of dates and names. He says\*, "Iidem versus " alias in aliam rem posse accommodari videan-"tur, hominum et temporum definitione sub-It appears, however, that their general tenor was the prediction of future commotion or destruction. Apollodorus is quoted by Opsopæus, in his preface to the Sibylline books, as affirming that the Sibyl foretold the destruction of Troy; from whence, as Cicero has informed us, that no names were contained in these books, the inference may at least be drawn, that the destruction of cities or empires was alluded to in general terms.

That the first collection of these books was different from the second, made on the occasion already mentioned, (A. U. C. 678.), appears from the difference of the conjunctures in which they

<sup>\*</sup> De Divinatione, ii. 54.

were consulted. The first were applied to as for advice or assistance, both when Hannibal invaded Italy\*, and also on the incursion of the Gauls; but as to the second collection, Livy† has recorded, that they were only consulted when it was thought that some supernatural evil might be impending. "Inspectionem illorum "non ferme decretam nisi cum tetra essent "prodigia nunciata."

It must indeed be admitted, that this second collection, having been added to, as it appears from various sources, underwent revision, at least on two occasions; once by Augustus, and a second time by order of Nero. There is, however, no reason to suppose, that in these revisions any thing farther was done than to separate the true Sibylline books from other pseudo-prophetic works, which from time to time had been associated with them. As to the first recension, Suetonius observes ‡, that Augustus ordered, that whatever prophetic books, whether Greek or Latin, had insufficient testimony as to their authors, should be burnt; while he only retained

<sup>\*</sup> Plutarch, Fab. Max. §. 176. † Livii lib. xxii. † Suetonius in Augusto, c. 31.

the Sibylline books; which, it seems, from the testimony of Dio\*, were at that period transcribed afresh by the Priests. The words of Suetonius are, "Quicquid fatidicorum librorum" Græci atque Latini generis, nullis vel parum "idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur; supra duo "millia contracta undique cremavit, ac solos" retinuit Sibyllinos."

If we recall to mind the connexion which appears to have subsisted between the names of Hermes, Osiris, and Apollo, it will seem most probable that the verses thus retained were those which had been brought from the East; since Augustus ordered that the Sibylline books should from that time be kept in the temple of Apollo. Ammianus † is quoted by Fabricius ‡ as having mentioned that these books were afterwards preserved from the fire which destroyed that temple in the reign of Nero; when, as he states, had it not been for the most effectual assistance, "etiam "Cumana carmina consumpserat magnitudo" flammarum." From this time they appear to have survived till the days of Honorius, when

<sup>\*</sup> Dio, lib. liv. p. 532. † Amm. lib. xxiii. c. 3. ‡ Fab. Bib. Græca, i. p. 294.

the temple of Apollo was burnt in the commotion caused by Stilicho.

But throughout these several ages, the power of access to the Sibylline books seems gradually to have been more and more extended. As the number of the Decemviri was by degrees enlarged, first to ten, and afterwards to fifteen persons, so the very care which was used to preserve the oracles from adulteration, tended to spread the knowledge of their contents. been recorded by Dionysius\*, that with the ordinary guardians of these books, trusty persons were associated, without whom it was not permitted that any inspection of the oracles should be made. " Και δημοσια αυτοις παρακαθιστησιν, ων " χωρις, ουκ επισκεψεις των χρησμων τοις ανδρασι " ποιεισθαι." But as the priests were employed by Augustus to transcribe the books, it is sufficiently evident that their contents would thus also become more generally known; while Dio+ seems to have asserted that Nero himself exercised his power of rejecting various portions, which he imagined not to be authentic. There

<sup>\*</sup> Dionysius Halicarn. lib. iv. p. 260.

<sup>†</sup> Dio, lib. lvii. p. 615.

can be little doubt, therefore, that from the time of Nero, many of the most remarkable predictions contained in these books, must have been known to a considerable number of persons; and it is equally probable, that the passages most generally known, must have formed the nucleus for those books of the Sibyls which we now possess. Livy has so frequently mentioned the inspection of the Sibylline books, on account of prodigies which were supposed to have occurred, or evils which were apprehended\*, that this frequent custom, combined with the subsequent increase of the inspectors of these books to the number of forty, while they still retained the title of Quindecemviri, must have tended to make the greater portion of their contents familiar to many among the citizens of Rome. Since, therefore, some of the contents of the present books have been constantly appealed to, and quoted by authors who were not only prior to the destruction of the temple, under Honorius, but to the destruction of Jerusalem, this fact combines with others to render it probable, that some part of

<sup>\*</sup> Livy, lib. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. &c.

the second collection of Sibylline verses has survived, and that the combination of these remains, with other pseudo-prophetic lines, which were current among the Romans, required only the additions, which have evidently been made by Christians, to form the present collection. There is, indeed, strong internal evidence, that several of the books are the production of different authors; not only from the recurrence of the same lines in different places, but from the different computation of the ages which has been made use of.

Thus, although the four first books all concur in reckoning the present duration of the world to be for ten ages, or  $\Gamma_{\epsilon\nu\epsilon\alpha\iota}$ , they, nevertheless, differ in their division of the several portions of this space. While six of these ages are reckoned in the first book, up to the time of Shem \*, the second book reckons the beginning of the tenth  $\Gamma_{\epsilon\nu\epsilon\alpha}$ , to have been coincident with the coming of the Saviour †. In the third book ‡, on the contrary, the period immediately subsequent to the destruction of Babel, is reckoned as the com-

<sup>\*</sup> P. 182. † P. 193. 197. ‡ Sibyll. Orac. lib. iii. p. 225.

mencement of the tenth age; while the author of the fourth book \*, adopting the same computation of ten Γενεαι, from the commencement to the end of all things, makes the signs of the last period to synchronize with the conquest of Judæa by Titus. It would appear, that neither the first nor the fourth books can be referred to a much later period than that of Titus; because it must be admitted, that the usual characteristic of pretended prophecy, relative to any series of events, is, that it reaches to the time of the writer. Thus it is very improbable that the destruction of the temple by Titus should be commemorated, but that no notice should be taken of the subsequent structure of Adrian, had the author lived to see that profanation accomplished. For this reason it would seem that the author of the fifth book, who evidently lived during, or shortly after, the time of Adrian +, must have been different from the compiler of the book which precedes it. The sixth book differs from the others with regard to Jerusalem; and the seventh

<sup>\*</sup> P. 287. 294. † Sibyll. Orac. lib. v. p. 305.

appears to have been by another author, as may be seen by a comparison of the lines which relate to Ethiopia, with those which occur in the fifth book \* on the same subject.

The eighth book, which is especially filled with allusions to the Apocalypse, and the narrative of the Gospels, has the same reference to the name of Adrian †, which is made use of in the fifth book; but from the style of the description, it would seem to have been written after the death of that emperor, who, had he still lived, would have been spoken of in more courteous terms; and in this respect the other passage which mentions his name, appears, from the flattering terms in which it is expressed, to have been written while he was yet in power. If, therefore, there be cause to suppose that these verses have been added together by different writers, it might be expected that the proportion of the more ancient lines, which they might contain, would be less than that of the pseudo-prophecies, which were more commonly known,

<sup>\*</sup> S. O. p. 317.

<sup>†</sup> Lib. viii. p. 367.

because there was no restriction as to their perusal. Thus, in the third book, the line—

" Μη κινει Καμαριναν, ακινητος γαρ αμεινων,"

appears to have been known proverbially in the time of Augustus; and we may suppose that, in the same manner, many of the various pseudoprophetic lines, which, as we learn from Livy, were current among the Romans, would be engrafted into the books of the Sibyl. Hence but few passages belonging to the older records can be expected to remain among those which we now possess; and if, nevertheless, some lines may be identified with the books of Enoch, we may infer, that had the whole collection remained, the proof of identity, thus to be obtained, would have been far more ample. That some of these passages, which relate to the coming of a king, are among the number of those which have probably remained uninjured, may be inferred from the frequent assurance, which we have, that some such passages did formerly exist.

Cicero \* proposed, that since the Sibyl was useful rather for the suppression of errors in reli-

<sup>\*</sup> Cic. de Divin, lib. i.

gion, than for the proposition of new doctrines, "the priests should be desired to propose from these books any other measure than that of appointing a king."

The fact mentioned by Suetonius is also well known. He relates\*, that L. Cotta declared that it was the opinion of the Quindecemviri, that Cæsar should be appointed king, since it was contained in the Sibylline books, that the Parthians could not be conquered, save by a king: and Plutarch † also mentions the same circumstance. It must then be extremely probable, that in the several well known passages in which Tacitus † and Suetonius § mention that expectation of a king who should arise, which was spread through all the countries of the East, they referred to the Sibylline books, as the "antiquæ literæ," from whence this expectation was derived. If, therefore, either in the Sibylline books, or in the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, we meet with any passages relating to this subject, which appear to resemble some which are to be found in Enoch, it may not unreasonably be supposed, that any passage

<sup>\*</sup> Suet. in Jul. Cæs. c. 79. † Plutarch in C. Cæsare.

<sup>‡</sup> Tacitus, lib. v. cap. 13. § Suetonius in Vespas. c. 4.

which was formerly attributed to the Sibylline books, and which now appears to exist in Enoch, was, in fact, originally derived from the latter, together with other passages which still exist in both compositions, although it cannot now be found among the Sibylline remains.

As it seems probable that those portions of these books, which were composed by Christians, may have been added to them in the earlier part of the second century, it can hardly be supposed that any person, whose object it was, either at that, or a later period, to produce a work which might be taken for the ancient Sibylline verses, would have designedly quoted a book, which had but recently been seen; or that, in any case, he would have quoted writings which were already known under the name of Enoch. This name alone, whether the credit of the book were general or not, would tend to show that passages taken from that work could not rightly be ascribed to the Sibyls. Still less would it be probable that the forger of the book of Enoch, in the second century, should add to his composition, verses already known as belonging to the Sibylline books.

Thus our supposition will be strengthened, that the books of Enoch may have been sufficiently ancient to have supplied the materials for the second collection of the legates, who were sent to the East to recover the lost verses; and this being the case, the coincidence of any remains of that collection with the present book of Enoch, will be at once a guide as to the age of those remaining portions, and a testimony of the antiquity of the book with which they are found to agree.

As in former instances, so in the present case also, I conclude that the priority of the book which I have endeavoured to restore, to the compositions with which it has been intermingled, being admitted; quotations, which show that the latter were extant at an early period, may be made use of, without ascribing any authority to them, merely for the purpose of collateral evidence with regard to the former existence of the earlier and less apocryphal book.

The first passage of this sort which occurs, is in the first book \*. I have endeavoured to trans-

<sup>\*</sup> Opsopæi Sibyll, Orac. p. 167.

late both this and the subsequent lines as literally as the difference of idiom will allow, for the purpose of comparison with the parallel passages of the book of Enoch.

- " Αυταρ επι τουτοις υπεδεξατο δευτερον αυθις,
- " Των καταλειφθεντων τε δικαιοτατων ανθρωπων,
- " Αλλο γενος τευξεν πολυποικιλον, οις εμεμηλεν,
- " Εργ' ερατα, σπουδαι τε καλαι, και υπειροχος αιδως
- " Και πυκινή σοφιή, τεχνάς δε μεν εξησκήσαν,
- " Παντοιας ευροντες μηχανιας επανοιας.
- " Και τις μεν γαιαν αροτροις εξευρε γεωργειν.
- " Αλλος, τεκταινειν, αλλφ δε πλειν μεμελητο,
- " Αλλφ δ' αστρονομειν και ονειροπολειν τα πετεινα,
- " Φαρμακιη δ' αλλφ, αυταρ μαγικη παλιν αλλφ,
- " Αλλοι δε αλλα εκαστιι μεμηλοτε τεχνωοντο,
- " Γρηροροι αλφιστηρες, επωνυμιής μετεχοντες
- " Ταυτης, οτι φρεσιν ακυμαντον νοον ειχον.
- " Απλητον τε δεμας στιβαροι μεγαλοι τε και ειδει,
- " Ησαν ομως, εμολον δ' υπο ταρταρεον δομον, αινον
- " Δεσμοις αρρηκτοις πεφυλαγμενοι εξαποτισαι
- " Εις γενεαν μαλερου λαβρου πυρος ακματοιο."
- " But when their fathers died, a second race,
- " (The just among mankind no longer found)
- " Succeeded, various in pursuits; their cares
- " Of love; adornments elegant, refined
- " In outward show, with each device to please.
- " For every work their busy wisdom found
- " Appliances; to plough the earth, to form
- " War's iron weapons, or to view the stars:
- "While others drew their auguries from birds.
- "The magic or the healing arts were sought,
- " As each, in several preference, desired.

- " Inventors called, and Watchers, to whose minds
- " No rest from toil, no pause from thought was known.
- "Though huge their bodies, vast, with countenance
- " Of strength, yet deep immersed in Tartarus,
- " Prisoned in fetters inexpugnable, they groan
- "Through painful ages of unceasing fire."

## Enoch, Book of Watchers, p. 7. (Translation.)

- " Moreover, Azaziel taught men to make
- " swords, knives, shields, breastplates; the fabri-
- "cation of mirrors, and the workmanship of
- " bracelets and ornaments; the use of paint, the
- " beautifying of the eyebrows, the use of stones
- " of every valuable and select kind: so that the
- "world became altered, impiety increased, for-
- " nication multiplied, and they transgressed and
- " corrupted all their ways. Amazarak taught
- "the solution of sorcery, Barkayal taught the
- " observers of the stars, Akibeel taught signs,
- observers of the stars, rikibeer taagnt signs,
- " Tamiel taught astronomy, and Asaradel taught
- " the motion of the moon."
  - P. 9. "Again the Lord said unto Raphael,
- " bind Azaziel hand and foot, cast him into dark-
- "ness, and opening the desert which is in
- " Dudael, cast him in there. Throw upon him
- " hurled and pointed stones, covering him with
- "darkness. There shall be remain for ever;

"cover his face that he may not see the light, and in the great day of judgment, let him be cast into the fire."

"To Gabriel also the Lord said, Go, and de-"stroy the children of fornication, the offspring "of the Watchers, from among men."

These passages do not exactly agree, but their similarity is sufficient to show that they must have had a common source; while there are several internal marks, which show that Enoch must have been the original.

It will be observed, that in Enoch, the punishment sent upon earth, is ascribed to that wickedness of mankind, which is previously mentioned; while in the Sibylline book, the portion relating to the sins of that age being omitted, the latter part of the description has become inconsistent with that which precedes it.

But it is also evident, that the meaning of the original was misunderstood by the transcriber, who, looking only to the immediate context, imagined that the inhabitants of the earth were called Watchers; whereas this name has, in fact, been ascribed, in the book of Enoch, only to the fallen angels themselves. Yet we can attribute

this name of Watchers to no other source but Enoch; for the united labours of the "critici sacri" seem to agree in this result, referring only to this very fragment, which was extant in the Greek. The passages of the book of Daniel\* where, in our translation, this word is used, have in the Hebrew, according to all Kennicott's Codices, the word עיך, which the LXX, according to most manuscripts, repeated without translation, using the word  $\omega \rho$ ; from which it would appear, that they were themselves uncertain of the precise meaning of the term. Our translators have supplied it partly from Theodotian, who gives for the synonym, " Αγγελον;" and partly from the Scholia, one of which has "Το Ειρ, ουδεν ετερον η " Εγρηγορως και αγρυπνος;" while, according to another, " Αυτι τους Ειρ, οι, Αγγελον ηρμηνευσαν" " οι τε λοιποι, Εγρηγορον."—" Some have under-"stood by the Eio, an angel; but others, a " watcher."

Still, however, it is sufficiently evident, from the context of this chapter of the book of Daniel, that the word, whatever its meaning might be,

<sup>\*</sup> Dan. iv. 13. 17. &c.

could not mean human beings; and it therefore follows, that the author of the Sibylline book could not have taken the expression from the book of Daniel, since he not only applies it to men, but finds a fanciful reason for its adoption, in the actions of the persons to whom he alludes.

The context of this passage of Enoch shows how the misapplication of this term may have arisen, since the offspring of the Watchers are there mentioned as men; and thus the united evidence arising from the general similarity of the two passages, from the incomplete state of the copy, in which an omission has occurred, and from the use of the name of Watchers, with a derivation which does not really belong to it, all combine to assure us that these lines of the Sibyl must have been taken from one of these books, under the name of Enoch.

The Sibylline verses which follow those which I have transcribed, contain an account of the slaughter which should occur in the generations succeeding that which had been already mentioned; while, in the book of Enoch, the passage last quoted is continued by an account of the

mutual slaughter of the offspring of the Watchers; thus adding another point of similarity to those of which I have already taken notice.

In the second Sibylline book \* another instance occurs, in which also it appears, that several lines must have been imitated from Enoch.

- " Ηνικα δ' αθανατου θεου αφθιτοι αγγελτηρες
- " Ερακιηλ, Ραμιηλ, Ουριηλ, Σαμιηλ, Αζαηλ τε
- " Αυτοι επισταμενοι οσα τις κακα προσθεν ερεξεν
- "  $A\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\nu$ ,"  $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$ .

"But when the immortal angels of the Eter"nal God, Erakiel, Ramiel, Uriel, Samiel, and
"Azael, themselves knowing how many evil
"things each of mankind had already done,"
&c.

If these names are compared with those which occur at the 6th and 7th pages of the translation of Enoch, it will be seen that they are all to be found there; while the construction of the names is, of itself, a sufficient proof that they are of Hebrew origin.

In Enoch, the words are as follows: "Then "Michael and Gabriel, Raphael, Surayal, and

<sup>\*</sup> Ed. Opsopæi, p. 203.

"Uriel, looked down from heaven, and saw the quantity of blood which was shed upon earth, and all the iniquity which was done in it," &c.

But in the Sibylline book, although the names above-mentioned are given as being those of the angels of God, they appear to have been taken indiscriminately from among the names both of good and bad angels, mentioned in Enoch; while the use of the name of Azael, or Azazel, as that of a good angel, is conclusive as to the writer's ignorance of Hebrew tradition; since this is the very name which, even from the time of Moses, had been known to the Hebrews, as associated with sin in the scape-goat.

The commentators have, I believe, considered the word עוֹאוֹל, Azazel, "to be compounded of "ty caper, and his abiit;" and a tradition is generally referred to concerning a mountain, in the neighbourhood of Sinai, which went by this name, as that from whence the scape-goat was cast down.

However this may be, it is sufficiently apparent, from the manner in which the name is used in Enoch, in accordance with Hebrew tradition,

as applied to one of the fallen angels, that in the book of Enoch, the original of these two passages is to be found; since no one acquainted with the etymology of the name which he was using, could have applied it to one of the chief angels of God. It may be remarked also, that in the Greek version of those fragments of Enoch, in which this passage is contained, an enumeration of the attributes of God, in power and justice, immediately follows; and this happens also in the Sibylline book; while, in the translation of Enoch from the Ethiopie, another short passage intervenes. Thus it appears probable, that these lines were taken from the Greek version of Enoch.

In the next page of the second book follow some lines, which appear also to have been derived from the same source.

- " Και τας εν πελαγεσσιν απωλεσε κυμα θαλασσης
- " Ηδ' οποσας θηρες και ερπετα και πετεηνα,
- " Θοινησαντο, ολας ταυτας επι βημα καλεσσει."
- " Then those whom in its billows hath the sea
- " Destroyed, and whomsoever the wild beasts,
- " Or serpents, or the vultures have devoured,
- " Each shall he call, to stand before his throne."

The parallel passage of Enoch is subjoined.

" \* And it shall be, that those who have been destroyed in the desert, and who have been devoured by the fish of the sea, and by wild beasts, shall return and trust in the day of the elect one."

It will hardly be imagined that the combination of the fish of the sea, the wild beasts, and the creatures peculiar to arid countries, could, in both of these passages, be fortuitous.

Near the end of the second book †, the following lines are found, as part of a description of the happiness of the righteous:

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" Κ'ουκ ετ' ερει τις ολως, νυξ ηλθεν, ουδε μεν αυριον,
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In Enoch ‡ we find, "Nor shall the days of "the saints be numbered, who seek for light

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ουκ εχθες γεγονεν, ουκ ηματα πολλα μεριμνων —

<sup>&</sup>quot; --- Ου δυσιν, ανατολην, ποιησει γαρ μακρον ημαρ,

Τοις και ο παντοκρατωρ Θεος αφθιτος αλλο παρεξει,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ευσεβεσιν οποταν Θεον αφθιτον αιτησονται."

<sup>&</sup>quot; None shall say night hath come, nor morrow cometh,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Nor days have passed; no days of toiling care ----

<sup>&</sup>quot; No sunset and no sunrise, one vast day,

<sup>&</sup>quot; God ruling all eternal, shall ordain,

<sup>&</sup>quot; For thus the righteous shall beseech the Lord."

<sup>\*</sup> Trans. p. 65. † Ed. Opsopæi, p. 212. † Trans. p. 58, 59. Sib. Orac.

"and obtain righteousness with the Lord of spirits. Peace be to the saints with the Lord of of the world.—There shall be light intermitionable, nor shall they enter upon the enumeration of time, for darkness shall be previously destroyed, and light shall increase before the Lord of spirits; before the Lord of spirits shall the light of uprightness increase for ever."

Although we find no absolute quotation in this instance, it is yet difficult to conceive that one of these passages has not been imitated from the other, especially as the passage of Enoch, like the Sibyl, is, "concerning the saints and the "elect."

## In the third book these lines occur \*:

- " Ανθ' ων επτα χρονων δεκαδας γη καρποδοτειρα,
- " Εσται ερημος απασα σεθεν, και θαυματα σηκου.
- " Αλλα μεν εις αγαθοιο τελος, και δοξα μεγιστη,
- " Ως επικρανε θεος σοι και βροτος."
- " Wherefore, for seventy times, your fruitful land
- " Shall lie deserted, and your glorious house;
- " Yet shall your end be good, your glory great;
- " For thee, though mortal, thus hath God ordained."

In the apocryphal "Testaments of the Twelve

"Patriarchs," the date of which, as I have already observed, is early in the second century, the following words occur, in the Testament of Levi\*:—

" Και νυν εν βιβλιω Ενωχ, οτι εβδομηκοντα εβδο - μαδας πλανηθησεσθε, και την ιερωσυνην βεβηλωσετε, "και τας θυσιας μιαινειτε, κ.τ.λ.—Εως αυτος παλιν "επισκεψεται και οικτειρησας προσδεξεται υμας, εν "πιστει και υδατι."

"And now I know, from the book of Enoch, that you will err for seventy weeks, and you will profane the priesthood, and defile the sacrifices, until he again shall look upon you, and pitying you, shall receive you in faith and baptism."

This appears to have been collected from the Book of History †, in borrowing from which, however, the author of the Testaments has taken the number of seventy shepherds, to represent the duration of the weeks foretold by the Prophet Daniel; and as the Sibylline book has followed this example, it appears that the quotation of the Sibyl has not been taken directly from Enoch,

<sup>\*</sup> Fabr. Codex Pseudepigraphus, vol. i. p. 581.

<sup>†</sup> Translation, p. 125-133.

but from the Testaments. The motive of the writer must have been to draw from this source a portion of what he supposed to be an ancient prophecy; from whence it appears that the book of Enoch itself was not within his reach, or he would, doubtless, have guoted from it with greater correctness. Yet almost immediately subsequent to this passage is another, which appears to have been derived from the prophecy of Enoch itself, and thus we should appear to arrive at a contrary conclusion. But if, as I have already suggested, it be probable that portions of the book of Enoch were among the collection of Sibylline verses before the Christian era, we shall only infer, that the passage which follows has been preserved through that independent channel.

As the prophecy, indeed, with which this passage agrees, whatever may be its authority, contains a view of the events of every successive age, and as the circumstances there mentioned, as well as the computation made use of, are quite inconsistent with the Book of History, we must necessarily infer, that the whole of it could not have been within the knowledge of the same

writer, who made the previous quotation; and thus we have at least internal evidence of the existence of some original document, of which the following lines contain a remnant:—

- " Και τοτε εν θεος ουρανοθεν πεμψει βασιληα,
- " Κρινει δ' ανδρα εκαστον εν αιματι και πυρος αυγη.
- " Εστι δε τις φυλη βασιλειος, ης γενος εσται
- " Απτιιιστον, και τουτο χρονοις περιτελλομενοισι
- " Αρξει, και καινον σηκον θεου αρξετ' εγειρειν."
- " Then from the heaven shall God send forth a king,
- " To judge each soul in blood and flashing fire.
- " Yet hath the king a portion, who unblamed
- " Shall rule throughout predestinated times,
- " And newly shall begin God's house to build."

## In the prophecy of Enoch, it is said \*:

- " Afterwards shall there be another week, the
- " eighth, of righteousness, to which shall be
- " given a sword to execute justice and judgment
- "upon all oppressors. Sinners shall be deli-
- " vered up into the hand of the righteous, who,
- "during its completion, shall acquire habita-
- "tions by their righteousness; and the house of
- "the great king shall be built up for ever."

The first line of the Sibyl appears to have been taken from another passage, where it is said,

<sup>\*</sup> Translation, p. 140.

that "the elect one shall sit upon the throne of "his glory;" but what follows, although not identical in expression, is so similar in arrangement to the part of Enoch which I have subjoined to it, that I think the identity of the origin of both can hardly be doubted; for it will be observed, that in both cases the punishment of the wicked, the dominion of the righteous, and the building of the house of God, follow each other in the same order.

The celebrated lines which foretel the destruction of Samos and of Rome, are found in the third and also in the eighth book; thus not only affording, by this repetition, an evidence that these books were compiled by two different authors, but likewise tending towards the same conclusion from the difference of arrangement in the two instances in which these lines occur.

In both cases the names of Rome, of Samos, and of Delos, are mentioned; but in the eighth book, the last line is incomplete: and while this passage, in the third book, appropriately closes an allusion to the city of Rome, it is added in the eighth, without much apparent connexion,

to some lines which relate to Syria and to Egypt.

But if this prediction were extant before the Christian era, the supposition that it was derived from documents such as those which are contained in Enoch, will account for the terms in which it is expressed:

- \* " Εσται και Σαμος, αμμος, εσται και Δηλος αδηλος,
  - " Και Ρωμη, ρυμη. Τα τε θεσφατα παντα τελειται."
  - "Samos a sandy descrt shall become,
  - " Delos unknown, and Rome a ruin shall be.
  - "So shall each word prophetic be fulfilled."

If the author of these lines had derived them from any writing which he supposed to be an authentic prophecy, he might be expected to repeat the general purport of that prophecy, although he might not make any exact quotation from it.

But the destruction of the most celebrated temples of antiquity, the silence of the Oracles of Delos and of Samos, combined with the ruin of that city, whose temporal power was the greatest of the ancient world, present to the mind an emphatic picture of general desolation, over-

<sup>\*</sup> Sibyll. Orac. p. 244.

whelming at once the most sacred temple of the priest, and the strongest citadel of the warrior.

It may be concluded, therefore, that these lines have reference to that destruction, which is implied in the accounts elsewhere given, of the last age of the world; that universal destruction, predicted in the book of Enoch, wherein both the knowledge and the works of man should find their common end, "melting like a honeycomb "in the flame." And the probability that Enoch was the prototype of such passages, becomes the greater, from our ignorance of any other source from which authors, to whom the Scriptures were unknown, could have derived them.

We may refer also to the same origin that description of the last age of the world, which occurs at the beginning of the third Sibylline book \*, as well as that which, at the beginning of the eighth †, appears either to have been imitated from the former, or to have been taken from some original common to both. The latter of these passages has, however, some resemblance to the conclusion of the book of Enoch, as

<sup>\*</sup> Sibyll. Orac. p. 220.

I have endeavoured to restore it. It will be seen that I have been unable to translate these lines literally, but I have endeavoured to express their general sense:

- " Αλλα τοτ' ουρανιη οταν η χαρις εμβασιλευση,
- " Και οποταν παις ποθ' ιερος, δολοφων απολυτων,
- " Εξολεση δεσμοις υλοοφρονα βυσσον ανοιγων,
- " Αιφνιδίος τε βροτοις ξυλίνον δομος αμφικαλυψει."
- " When that celestial grace shall bear the rule,
- " And when a sacred child shall fill with chains
- " The iniquitous abyss, expanding wide
- " Its gates; when those, by subtlety deceived,
- " Or violence slain, triumphant shall be free;
- " All unawares the fragile house shall fall,
- " And mortals perish with mortality."

In Enoch it is said\*, "He sat upon the throne of his glory, and the principal part of the judgment was assigned to him, the Son of man. Sinners shall disappear and perish from the face of the earth, while those who seduced them shall be bound with chains for ever. According to the ranks of their corruption shall they be imprisoned, and all their works shall

- "disappear from the face of the earth.
- " Every thing wicked shall disappear, and depart
- " from before his face."

<sup>\*</sup> Translation, p. 81.

The occurrence of a similar passage in the fourth book \* makes it the more probable that some prototype existed previous to the time at which this compilation was made; and, as I have already noticed, with relation to supposed oracles, which had been well known among the Romans, it is probable that the remains of the earlier Sibylline books may be recognised by this mark of their double insertion in those which we now possess. Thus it would seem, that there must have been some foundation for the belief of Lactantius, that both Varro and Apollodorus had characterized the Erythrean Sibyl as "præter "cæteras præcipuam et nobilem;" since the only portions of the book of Enoch, which we have traced in these verses, are found among those which have been ascribed to her name, or which, in other words, were supposed to belong to those fragments, which were obtained in the East, as the materials for the second Sibylline collection.

When we consider the united testimony of these different passages coinciding with each

<sup>\*</sup> Translation, p. 299.

other in the books of the Sibyl and of Enoch, it will be admitted, that from hence, the authority of any other testimony which may tend towards the conclusion of the ancient existence of the book of Enoch, is very much strengthened. And if we find a difficulty in accounting for the existence of fragments of prophecy, concerning the coming of the Saviour, in the books of the Sibyls; we derive, at least, from this book of Enoch the means of pointing out a channel through which such knowledge might be conveyed, to one who was ignorant of the canonical Scriptures.

If, then, the doctrines alluded to in the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, were confessedly obtained from the Sibyl; and if the "ultima Cumæi" carminis ætas," must necessarily have referred to the concluding period in some sequence of the several ages of the world, contained according to the account of Virgil himself, in the Sibylline books; it will then follow that if that calculation of ages should appear to agree with the remarkable calculation of the book of Enoch, there must be very strong presumptive evidence, that the Sibylline verses were derived from that book.

It is true that the most usual, and most generally received division, among the Hebrews, and those to whom their traditions extended, was that of seven millenary periods; but it will be seen that this is also in accordance with the computation of the book of Enoch, which consists of ten weeks, as they are called in the translation from the Ethiopic, each consisting of seven hundred years, and thus making up the same sum total as that of the seven millenary periods.

Fabricius observes\*, that it was the opinion of the learned Vossius, that Juvenal, in the following well known lines, must have referred to the calculation of the Sibylline books.

- " Nona ætas agitur, pejoraque sæcula ferri
- " Temporibus, quoniam sceleri non invenit ipsa
- " Nomen, et a nullo posuit natura metallo."
- " The ninth age passes on, a period worse
- " Than that of iron; for whose wickedness
- " Nature no name hath found, no metal made."

It is evident that the poet must have meant to represent the tenth, as the final age; and while we are aware of the source from which he might have obtained this computation, it will

<sup>\*</sup> Bib. Græc. i. p. 186.

hardly be imagined that the description can have arisen merely from the fertility of his fancy, in augmenting the five ages mentioned by Hesiod.

The same observation will be still more applicable to the testimony afforded by Virgil on this subject; because it is not only probable that he must himself have had some previous knowledge of the computation which he mentions, but it will also be seen that the whole structure of his eulogium makes it necessary to assume that an allusion has been made to some common and generally received opinion.

Beautifully modulated as the expressive strains of the fourth Eclogue are, they would yet have failed of their effect had they only conveyed to the ear a poet's hope, unsupported by that tradition which prepared his hearers to understand and to appreciate their allusions. Had not the prediction been familiar to all around, his promise that the unborn infant should be the author of some yet unheard of and unexpected state of felicity on earth, would have been as uninteresting, as it must have seemed improbable. But the belief of those to whom the verses were ad-

dressed, formed the ground-work of the poet's fiction; and the force of his poetry was effectual, in proportion to the assurance which was impressed upon the mind of every auditor, that the melody of verse was only used to enhance the dignity of an ancient and authentic prediction.

Even if we had not a distinct reference to the Sibylline verses, the "Cumæum carmen," we could scarcely imagine that the words of Hesiod could have been the source from which the expressions of Virgil were drawn, because the order of the ages in Hesiod is not only reversed by the poet, but he has referred to some future course of ages, about to commence with the arrival of the last age of the Sibyl. The allusion which, as I suppose, is made to the fable of Astrea, in the words "Jam redit et Virgo," seems to be but the ornament given by an imaginative mind, to the detail of the two previous lines, in which the facts predicted are referred to:

That the poet must have referred to the tenth,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas;

<sup>&</sup>quot; Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo."

as being the last age, appears from the computation used in the four first Sibylline books, as well as from the expressions which are there twice repeated, as to the final period.

- " Ανθρωποις οσα νυν τε και οπωωσα γινεται αυθις,
- " Εκ πρωτης γενεης αχρις ενδεκατης αφικεσθαι,
- " Ατρεκεως καταλεξαι \*."
- " The things which are, and those which yet shall be,
- " Successive, from the first to th' eleventh age,
- " Truly to tell to mortals."

At first sight it might indeed appear, as has been observed by Fabricius †, that these lines were inconsistent with the assertion which follows them:

- " Αλλα τα μεν δεκατη γενεη μαλα παντα τελειται."
- " In the tenth age these things shall all conclude."

But if we compare these lines with a passage of the prophecy of Enoch, their apparent inconsistency is explained by the latter.

"And on the seventh day of the tenth week there shall be an everlasting judgment, which shall be executed on the Watchers."—"After-

<sup>\*</sup> Sibyll. Orae. p. 287.

<sup>†</sup> Fab. Bib. Græc. i. p. 185.

"wards there shall be many weeks, which shall ternally exist in goodness and in righteousness."

Thus as the tenth week, or age, is said to be concluded by the judgment, this statement agrees with the declaration, that "in the tenth" age all these things shall be finished;" while, on the other hand, the many weeks which, it is said, shall afterwards exist, may, without any inconsistency, be spoken of as the eleventh age. But as it does not appear in what other manner these two statements can be reconciled, it becomes the more probable, that they may have been compiled from the book, which, when referred to, so simply explains their meaning.

By this reference, the term of magni menses, which otherwise appears so obscure, is found to agree with the declaration, that,

" Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo;"

for as the former expression may probably relate to the "many weeks which should eternally "exist" after the closing of the tenth week; so the latter may be taken to express very correctly the long duration, which should succeed "ab "integro sæclorum;" when the ten previous weeks, or ages, were completely fulfilled; and when it might be added, that,

## " Incipient magni procedere menses."

We have, indeed, no proof beyond the reference of Virgil himself, that he had seen the Sibylline verses; but, I think, it will appear that there is a strong presumption, from the result of a comparison of the passages to which I have referred, not only that he drew this calculation from the books to which he ascribes it, but that it must have been obtained from the East, when the collection, under the name of the Sibyl, was made, and that it had been originally copied from the more ancient book of Enoch.

However inconclusive some of the foregoing evidences may appear when taken singly, yet as the probability, which I have sought to establish, must arise from the agreement of many coincidences, rather than from any direct testimony, I have thought that they might strengthen that which may be called circumstantial evidence, as derived from the unconscious agreement of various writers.

As I have endeavoured to shew that the Hermetic oracles of Chaldea were, in all probability at least, mingled with these books of Enoch, if they were not composed of them, so it has appeared also that the second Sibylline collection, having been formed from those materials which the Chaldean or Egyptian priests supplied, there is much reason to conclude that whatever prophecies the later Sibylline books contained, were derived from the same ancient sources. But since it can hardly be doubted that coincidences between the present Sibylline verses, and the books of Enoch, have been pointed out in the foregoing pages, it would seem that these coincidences cannot be more simply or naturally accounted for, than by the suppositions which I have already stated; so that we thus have the independent testimony of several authors in successive ages, to substantiate our conclusion, that at least the more ancient portions of the book of Enoch, must have subsisted prior to the Christian æra.

Having now concluded my attempt to trace the various instances of apparent coincidences, which exist between portions of the books of Enoch, and compositions under the name of Hermes, or of the Sibyls, as well as the apocryphal testaments of the patriarchs, and the foregoing passages of Virgil; I shall add a few observations on those subsequent verses, which I have placed after the book on the future judgment, and in which an apparent prophecy, whether true or false, is contained.

Without offering any opinion on this point, I shall endeavour to trace such internal evidence as may tend towards either of these conclusions. That probability which I have already endeavoured to establish, from whence we might ascribe an ancient date to these writings, must indeed be a necessary addition to our estimate, before we can come to any conclusion favourable to the genuineness of this composition. But for the present we will look merely to the contents of these verses, in order to see whether we can collect from them any evidence of falsehood, or observe in their structure any probable marks of truth.

In the first place we may remark the singular fact, that the duration of the world is here assumed to be seven thousand years, and I think it will be found in perusing the observations on chronology, which are added at the conclusion of this volume, that there is much reason to infer from the use of this millenary calculus, a far earlier period of composition than that which has been usually assumed as the time at which this opinion originated.

It will be found also that some singular coincidences arise, from the comparison of the prophetic numbers mentioned in the Scripture, with the dates assigned by this book to the duration of the religion of Christ previous to the millenium, and to that subsequent period itself.

It may be questioned whether the expression used by St. Jude, when he calls Enoch the seventh from Adam, may not have been taken from the first of these verses:—"I have been born the seventh in the first week." It is at any rate apparent that St. Jude must either have referred generally to this expression, or that he must have reckoned the number of years from Adam to Enoch, according to the Hebrew calculation; for as to the succession of persons, Enoch was not the seventh, but the sixth from

Adam, since this mode of speaking forbids us to include Adam himself in our calculation. But as to time, in which sense this expression is certainly used in the present verse, Enoch was the seventh, as he was born a few years after the completion of the sixth century of the world.

From this verse up to the end of the eleventh verse, or the conclusion of the sixth week, it would be easy for any author of the second century to assign the dates of the various actions by which he might be inclined to characterize each successive week. Still, however, it would be remarkable that any Jewish author of that period should pass so slightly over the ancient glories of his nation, or fail to embody in his prophetic calendar some of those recollections of the former wealth and power of Israel, which must have been equally interesting to him, whether he had been converted to Christianity or not. But on the contrary, the events which have been selected seem only to have reference to the Messiah, in the gradual preparations which were made for the coming of Him who was "to fill his house with "glory."

But as the end of the sixth week, or the close of the second century of the Christian æra, is the latest period to which this book can be assigned, on the supposition that it has been a forgery; we should expect that a Pseudo prophet, would either close his prediction at that period, as has been remarked of the Apocryphal Esdras, or that he would add some such intimations agreeing with the general opinions of the time at which he lived, as might afford internal evidence of the age during which his writings were composed. The fact, however, is contrary to both these suppositions, for the prophecy purports to reach to the end of the world, and the manner in which the seventh and eighth weeks are spoken of, affords no trace of any such expectations of the approach of that period, as those which we know to have prevailed among the Christians of the first three centuries.

Whether we suppose this to be a prophecy or a forgery, we may equally assume that from the sixth week, the events referred to must be spiritual and moral changes, and not merely mutations of empire, unconnected with religion. On the latter supposition, the subject would be no longer worthy of our attention; but if we are inclined to pause ere we pronounce against the possibility that this should be a true prediction, the history of the church will afford at least some coincidences which may serve to strengthen our doubt.

If indeed it be the extreme of rashness, as it undoubtedly is, to attribute inspiration to any writing upon untenable grounds, or to expect that we shall obtain from assertion, an authority which we cannot substantiate by argument; so is there also some danger in that frame of mind which would lead us to assert that we already absolutely and certainly possess the whole of that word of God which ever has been, or which ever shall be, revealed to man.

It is indeed true that the words of God pass not away, till all shall in their several seasons be fulfilled. But He who, in his inscrutable Providence, appointed that a whole age should elapse before the Apocalypse itself was generally known and recognised as the word of inspiration, may have allowed a prophecy of later events, to remain unknown to a later period; while

he cannot have forbidden us to attend to any writing, which at any period may be offered to our consideration, with the same care and reverence, with which the early church successively examined those various documents, from which the canon of our Scriptures was formed, rejecting many, while, on sure evidence, they accepted others. Let it not, therefore, be esteemed a mark of credulity, that we form such a rule to ourselves as may preserve us from being sceptical, without evidence whereon to ground our scepticism; and that we inquire as carefully and as reverentially into the balance of evidence on this subject, as if we were assuredly commenting on a certain and undoubted prophecy. Till we have proof to the contrary, this will at least involve us in no danger; since it by no means requires us to assume, or conclude, that the writing which we examine is authentic; but only to abstain from any levity of expression, and to weigh, humbly and carefully, even the slightest evidence; lest in the event, for want of such forbearance, "haply we be found to fight " against God."

I assume then, that if this were a real pro-

phecy, it might be expected to relate to the same series of events, as those which are prefigured by St. John in his Apocalypse; and I take it for granted, that the Apocalypse itself relates to the spiritual and moral changes which should occur during the period of Christianity, and to the various results which these changes should produce among mankind.

Let us then compare the circumstances attributed to the seventh week, with the events which actually took place during that period (from A.D. 200 to 900).

"In the seventh week a perverse generation shall arise, abundant shall be its deeds, and all its deeds perverse. During its completion the righteous, selected from the plant of everlasting righteousness, shall be rewarded; and to them shall be given sevenfold instruction respecting every part of his creation." But this period is similarly characterised in the Apocalypse itself.

It is said of the red horse, in the second seal, that power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another; while the emblem of the third

seal is, that the voke of superstition is in the hand of him that sat on the black horse; and the selling of the spiritual corn and wine and oil, the famine of hearing the word of the Lord, according to his promise, without money and without price, but too truly agree with the voice of history, from the fourth to the seventh, and from the seventh to the tenth centuries. If I am right in my conclusion from which I assume, in common with many commentators, and especially with the learned Vitringa, that while the seals of the Apocalypse extend from the commencement to the end of the prophecy, the trumpets are coincident with the two first of the seals, the denunciations which belong to them, ought also to apply to the events which we are now considering.

But the trumpets are, in fact, a record of the perverse or evil deeds of men: for if we omit the first, as belonging to an earlier period than the third century, we find that the second is distinguished by the emblem of a burning mountain, which when cast into the sea turns it to blood. The falling star of the third trumpet embitters the waters, and causes death.

Under the fourth, the emblematical sun, and moon and stars, are smitten: while in the fifth the abyss is opened, and the figurative locusts which during that period plague the earth, are succeeded by the horsemen of the Euphratean angels, who under the sixth trumpet were prepared to slay the third part of men. And while we admit the coincidence of this period with the time when the dragon before cast out, "was "wroth with the woman, and went to make war "with the remnant of her seed, which keep the " commandments of God, and have the faith of "Jesus Christ,"—while we admit this synchronism, we must assume also, that at this period there should be not a few witnesses for the truth, the seed of those who should afterwards have the victory, the precursors of those who should not only have like these the reward of wisdom, and "sevenfold instruction," but partake of the triumph reserved for the succeeding week of Enoch, a period not less in agreement with the prophecy of the Apocalypse.

With regard to the instruction mentioned as synchronizing with the completion of the foregoing week, we must remember that, if the great crime of this age, according to the Apocalypse, was that "they repented not of the works of their "hands, that they should not worship devils, "and idols of gold and silver, and brass, and "stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor "hear, nor speak, nor walk;" so history informs us that from the time of Leo Isauricus onward, there was not wanting a continual testimony against image worship, while we may not doubt that the Waldenses represented in the purity of their doctrine, precursors in former years, from whom they inherited those evangelical truths, which had hitherto been comparatively obscured, by the prevailing ignorance and intolerance of that age \*. Yet we shall observe, that neither the Apocalypse nor this book of Enoch set forth to us an immediate succession of truth to error, or a sudden victory over the powers of darkness

The Apocalypse, hiding the more circum-

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Valdenses, a sæculo jam octavo majores suos in Pede-"montanis vallibus a Romani Pontificis communione se-

<sup>&</sup>quot;junctos vixisse, hoc vero sæculo liberius animum suum pro-

<sup>&</sup>quot;fessos esse, non contemnendis disputant testimoniis. In

<sup>&</sup>quot;Galliâ, aliisque regionibus, horum similes hâc ætate latuisse

<sup>&</sup>quot; æquè certum est."-Mosheim. Sæc. xi. Pars ii. c. 2.

stantial narrative which should succeed to the trumpets, under the symbol of seven thunders, "sealed up and not written," presents us only with the more general prediction of the two seals, which relate to the period from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries.

Thus the voice of the fourth seal, calls us to behold but the single vision of the mystical death, and Hades, to whom power was given to kill with sword, and hunger, and beasts of the earth.

But as this synchronizes with the first part of the eighth week of Enoch, which extends from the beginning of the tenth to the end of the sixteenth century, so the expressions appropriated to that week correspond with it also.

"Afterwards there shall be another week, the eighth, of righteousness; to which shall be given a sword to execute justice and judgment upon all oppressors. Sinners shall be delivered up into the hands of the righteous, who during its completion shall acquire habitations by their righteousness, and the house of the great king shall be built up for ever."

It will be observed that the first part of this prediction agrees at least in some measure with

that of the Apocalypse. The latter part, which is restricted to the concluding portion, as "during "the completion" of the week, must synchronize with the next seal of the Apocalypse, which takes in the space between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Christian æra.

The fifth seal represents the souls of former martyrs crying for the vengeance of their blood on them that dwell on the earth. But here, the sealed portion characterized by the thunders, being completed, and that of the vials of wrath having begun, they afford to us the particular description of that which by the seal is only represented in general terms.

The first vial brought upon the men which had the mark of the beast, "a noisome and "grievous sore." The second caused the mystical sea, to "become as the blood of a dead man;" while the third vial, poured upon the rivers and fountains of waters, turned them to blood; while justice and judgment upon all oppressors was indeed thus executed. But the parallel prophecy of the Apocalypse is still more explicit, as to the events which should characterize the latter part of this period; and

while it agrees with the declaration that now, "Sinners should be delivered into the hand of "the righteous," it is remarkable that in the Apocalypse, the "temple of the tabernacle of "the testimony in heaven," is represented to be "opened," while in Enoch it is said that now the righteous should acquire habitations by their righteousness, and the house of the great king should be built up for ever. And if we understand this to relate to things spiritual, it may be taken to allude to the re-edification of that "spiritual house," in which those faithful servants, who at this period returned unto "the "living rock disallowed of men," were built "up "as lively stones," a holy priesthood, "to " offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God, " by Jesus Christ."

With this metaphorical sense, the expression, that "the house of the Great King shall be built "up for ever," also agrees, even as in the Apocalypse it is said of those "which came out of "great tribulation, and have washed their robes, "and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," "that they are before the throne of God, and "serve him day and night in his temple."

The first half of the ninth week corresponds, according to the previous suppositions, with the sixth and seventh of the Apocalyptic seals, and with the fourth and subsequent vials of wrath; and as the millennial period, subsequent to the coming of the Son of Man, is partly comprehended within this week, the commencement of that period must be the event by which we should expect it to be characterized. This is accordingly the ease; for here the former mode of expression, as to the completion of the various weeks is abandoned, and the term of "in the ninth week," is substituted for it. We must infer, that the end of the fourth century of this week is here alluded to, from the synchronysm which is afterwards noticed, of the conclusion of the millennial period, with the seventh day of the tenth week; for if we reckon back from this date to the commencement of the thousand years, the time indicated for the commencement also of "the judgment of righ-"teousness," will be that in which the century already mentioned is completed.

The terms appropriated to this ninth week are at least sufficiently definite to show some correspondence with the expressions of the Apocalypse as to this period. If of the judgment of righteousness it be said, that "it shall be re"vealed to the whole world," so of the coming of the Son of Man it is declared, that "every eye "shall see him."

If every work of the ungodly is at this period to "disappear," according to Enoch, "from "the face of the whole earth;" so, according to the Apocalypse, "former things are passed "away;" while it is also declared, that Satan "should deceive the nations no more till the "thousand years should be fulfilled." Thus, also, the world is here said to be "marked for "destruction;" while, in the Apocalypse, the combined symbols of the harvest and the vintage are found to synchronize with the period of the sixth seal, "when every mountain and island "were moved out of their places;" and when, " in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, "when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of "God should be finished." Nor is the assertion here made, that "all men should seek the path " of righteousness," less consistent with the Apocalyptical synchronism of the binding of Satan, with the commencement of the millennium.

From hence the transition to the seventh day of the tenth week, as the period of the "ever-"lasting judgment, which shall be executed "upon the Watchers," leads us to the end of the millennium, of which St. John has said "that," when the thousand years are expired, "the Devil "that deceived them was cast into the lake of "fire;" while Enoch and the Scripture agree also, that "the former heaven shall depart and "pass away;" as in the latter, before him that sat "upon the throne, the earth and the heaven "fled away." Lastly, the declaration that "sin "shall not be named there for ever and for "ever," exactly agrees with the prophetic assurance, that there shall in no wise enter into the holy city any thing that defileth, neither that worketh abomination.

Having thus traced the most obvious of the coincidences which exist between this book and the Apocalypse, I leave this part of the subject without any farther observations, being rather desirous that the reader should examine for himself the book which follows, than that I should appear to support a theory by my own conclusions.

# THE BOOK

OF

# ENOCH,

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

# PARALLEL PASSAGES

FROM THE

SCRIPTURES.

# THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

Ī.

The word of the blessing of Enoch, how he blessed the elect and the righteous, who were to exist in the time of trouble; to the casting away of all the wicked and ungodly. Enoch, a righteous man, who was with God, answered and spoke, while his eyes were open, and he saw a holy vision in the heavens. This the angels shewed me.

# Η.

From them I heard all things, and understood what I saw; that which will not come to pass in this generation, but in a generation which is to succeed at a distant period, on account of the elect.

# SCRIPTURE PARALLELS.

#### T.

Jude 4 and 14. "For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained unto this condemnation.—And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophecied of these."

Numbers xxiv. 3. "Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said; He hath said which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open," &c.

Zechariah iv. 1. "The angel that talked with me, came again and waked me, as a man that is wakened out of his sleep," &c.

#### II.

Matthew xxiv. 22. "But for the Elect's sake those days shall be shortened."

Colossians i. 26. "Even the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to his saints."

# Ш.

Upon their account I spoke and talked with him, who will go forth from his habitation, the Holy and Mighty One, the God of the world:

# IV.

Who will hereafter tread upon Mount Sinai; appear with his hosts; and be manifested in the strength of his power from heaven.

Matthew xxiv. 34, 35. "Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."

#### Ш

Ezekiel xxi. 4. "Therefore shall my sword go forth out of his sheath, against all flesh, from the south to the north."

Isaiah xlii. 13. "The Lord shall go forth as a mighty man, he shall stir up jealousy like a man of war: he shall cry; yea, roar; He shall prevail against his enemies."

Zechariah xiv. 1. 3. "Behold the day of the Lord cometh.—Then shall the Lord go forth and fight against these nations."

#### IV.

Nehemiah ix. 13. "Thou camest down also upon Mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven."

Luke ii. 13, 14. "And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."

### V.

Atl shall be afraid, and the Watchers be terrified.

# VI.

Great fear and trembling shall seize them, even to the ends of the earth. The lofty mountains shall be troubled, and the exalted hills abased, melting like a honeycomb in the flame. The earth shall be immerged, and all things which are in it perish; while judgment shall come upon all, even upon all the righteous.

#### V.

Jeremiah iv. 16. "Make ye mention to the nations: Behold, publish against Jerusalem, that Watchers come from a far country, and give out their voice against the cities of Judah."

#### VI.

Revelation i. 7. "And all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him."

Revelation xiv. 20. "And the mountains were not found."

Habakkuk iii. 6. "He stood and measured the earth: He beheld and drove asunder the nations; And the everlasting mountains were scattered, the perpetual hills did bow: his ways are everlasting."

Micah i. 3, 4. "For behold the Lord cometh forth out of his place, and will come down and tread upon the high places of the earth. And the mountains shall be molten under him, and the valleys shall be cleft as wax before the fire."

Psalm xcvii. 1.5. "The Lord reigneth:—The hills melted like wax at the presence of the Lord."

2 Peter iii. 7. "But the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire, against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men.

# VII.

But to them shall he give peace: he shall preserve the elect, and towards them exercise mercy.

# VIII.

Then shall all belong to God; be happy and blessed; and the brightness of the Godhead shall enlighten them.

1 Peter iv. 18, "And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?"

Malachi iii. 2. "But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when He appeareth?"

#### VII.

Isaiah xxvi. 1. 3. "In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah.—Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee."

Isaiah lxv. 9. "And mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there."

Isaiah liv. 8. "With everlasting kindness will I have mercy upon thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer."

# VIII.

Revelation xxi. 4. "And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away."

Isaiah lx. 20. "Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself, for the Lord shall be thy everlasting light."

#### IX.

Behold, he comes with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon them, and destroy the wicked, and reprove all the carnal for every thing which the sinful and ungodly have done, and committed against him.

### X.

Heaven they shall not ascend, nor shall they come on the earth. This shall be the portion of sinners, who deny the name of the Lord of spirits, and who are thus reserved for the day of punishment and of affliction.

Revelation xxi. 23. "And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof."

#### IX.

Jude 14, 15. "And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophecied of these, saying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him."

#### X.

Revelation xxi. 1. 27. "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth.—And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie."

Jude i. 4. "Denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ."

Hebrews x. 29. "Of how much sorer punishment suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing?"

#### XI.

In that day shall the Elect one sit upon a throne of glory; and shall choose their conditions and countless mansions, (while their spirits within them shall be strengthened, when they behold my Elect one,) for those who have fled for protection to my holy and glorious name.

#### XII.

In that day I will cause my Elect one to dwell in the midst of them; will change the face of heaven; will bless it, and illuminate it for ever.

#### XI.

Matthew xxv. 31. 34. "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world."

John xiv. 2. "In my Father's house are many mansions."

Isaiah xxv. 9. "And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the Lord; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation."

#### XII.

Revelation xxi. 3. "And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them."

Isaiah lxv. 17. "Behold, I create new heavens, and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind."

Isaiah xxx. 26. "Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be seven fold, as the light of seven

#### XIII.

I will also change the face of the earth; will bless it; and cause those whom I have elected to dwell upon it. But those who have committed sin and iniquity shall not inhabit it; for I have marked their proceedings. My righteous ones will I satisfy with peace, placing them before me; but the condemnation of sinners shall draw near, that I may destroy them from the face of the earth.

# XIV.

In that day the prayer of the holy and the righteous, and the blood of the righteous, shall ascend

days, in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wounds."

#### XIII.

2 Peter iii. 13. "Nevertheless we according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

Psalm civ. 35. "Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth."

Isaiah xiii. 9. "Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger to lay the land desolate: and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it."

Proverbs xi. 31. "Behold, the righteous shall be recompensed in the earth; much more the wicked and the sinner."

Isaiah lx. 21. "Thy people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever."

Matthew xxv. 41. "Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels."

#### XIV.

Luke xviii. 7, 8. "And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, from the earth into the presence of the Lord of spirits.

#### XV.

In that day shall the holy ones assemble, who dwell above the heavens, and with united voice petition, supplicate, praise, laud, and bless the name of the Lord of spirits, on account of the blood of the righteous which has been shed; that the prayer of the righteous may not be intermitted before the Lord of spirits; that for them He would execute judgment; and that his patience may not endure for ever.

#### XVI.

At that time I beheld the Ancient\* of days, while He sat upon the throne of his glory, while

<sup>\*</sup> Literally in the Ethiopic "The head" of Days.

though he bear long with them? I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?"

### XV.

Revelation vi. 9. "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, Holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

Revelation xix. 1. "And after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Hallelujah! Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God! For true and righteous are his judgments, for he hath judged the great whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand."

#### XVI.

2 Chronicles xviii. 18. "I saw the Lord sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing on his right hand and on his left."

Daniel vii. 9, 10. "I beheld till the thrones

the book of the living was opened in his presence, and while all the powers which were above the heavens stood around and before Him.

#### XVII.

Then were the hearts of the saints full of joy, because the consummation of righteousness was arrived, the supplication of the saints heard, and the blood of the righteous appreciated by the Lord of spirits.

#### XVIII.

In that hour was this Son of man invoked before the Lord of spirits, and his name in the presence of the Ancient of days. were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set and the books were opened."

#### XVII.

Revelation xviii. 20. "Rejoice over her thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her."

Isaiah xlix. 13. "Sing, O heavens, and be joyful O earth, and break forth into singing, O mountains: for the Lord hath comforted his people, and will have mercy upon his afflicted."

#### XVIII.

John v. 22. "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son, that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father."

Acts x. 42. "And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he which

#### XIX.

Before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were formed, his name was called on in the presence of the Lord of spirits. A support shall He be for the righteous and the holy to lean upon, without falling; and he shall be the light of nations.

#### XX.

He shall be the hope of those whose hearts are troubled. All, who dwell on earth, shall fall down and worship before him; shall bless and glorify Him, and sing praises to the name of the Lord of spirits.

was ordained of God to be the judge of the quick and the dead."

John xvi. 14. "All things that the Father hath are mine."

#### XIX.

John viii. 58. "Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am."

Colossians i. 17. "And he is before all things, and by him all things consist."

Hebrews xiii. 8. "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever."

Psalm cxxiv. 8. "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

Isaiah xliii. 2. "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned."

Luke ii. 32. "A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel."

#### XX.

Matthew ii. 28. "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

Revelation xv. 3, 4. "And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the

#### XXI.

Therefore the Elect and the Concealed one existed in His presence, before the world was created, and for ever.

# XXII.

In His presence he existed, and has revealed to the saints and to the righteous the wisdom of the Lord of spirits; for he has preserved the lot of the righteous, because they have hated and rejected this world of iniquity, and have detested all its works and ways, in the name of the Lord of spirits. Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, Just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints! Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? For thou only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee: for thy judgments are made manifest."

#### XXI.

Genesis i. 26. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness."

John i. 1, 2, 3. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made."

#### XXII.

Hebrews xi. 25. "By faith, Moses when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharoah's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season."

John xvii. 14. "I have given them thy word, and the world hath hated them, because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of

#### XXIII.

For in His name shall they be preserved; and His will shall be their life. In those days shall the kings of the earth and the mighty men, who have gained the world by their achievements, become humble in countenance.

#### XXIV.

For in the day of their anxiety and trouble their souls shall not be saved; and they shall be in subjection to those whom I have chosen.

the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world."

#### XXIII.

Revelation vi. 15. "And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every freeman, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?"

#### XXIV.

Deuteronomy xxxii. 41. "If I whet my glittering sword, and mine hand take hold on judgment, I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me."

Psalm xviii. 47. "It is God that avengeth me and subdueth the people unto me."

Luke xix. 27. "But those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them before me."

# XXV.

I will cast them like hay into the fire, and like lead into the water. Thus shall they burn in the presence of the righteous, and sink in the presence of the holy; nor shall a tenth part of them be found.

# XXVI.

But in the day of their trouble, the world shall obtain tranquillity.

#### XXVII.

In His presence shall they fall, and not be

#### XXV.

1 Cor. iii. 12. "Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is."

Luke xiii. 24. "Strive to enter in at the strait gate: for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able. When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door," &c.

#### XXVI.

Proverbs xvi. 4. "The Lord hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil."

Isaiah xxxv. 10. "And the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."

2 Thessalonians i. 7. "And to you who are troubled rest with us."

#### XXVII.

2 Thessalonians i. 7, 8, 9. "When the Lord

raised up again; nor shall there be any one to take them out of His hands, and to lift them up: for they have denied the Lord of spirits, and His Messiah. The name of the Lord of spirits shall be blessed.

#### XXVIII.

Wisdom is poured forth like water, and glory fails not before Him for ever and ever; for potent is He in all the secrets of righteousness.

#### XXIX.

But iniquity passes away like a shadow, and possesses not a fixed station: for the Elect one stands before the Lord of spirits; and His glory is for ever and ever; and His power from generation to generation.

Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels; in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe, (because our testimony among you was believed) in that day."

# XXVIII.

Proverbs viii. 22. "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old."

Proverbs iii. 32. "The froward is abomination to the Lord, but his secret is with the righteous."

1 Peter iv. 13. "Rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy."

#### XXIX.

Psalm xxxvii. 1. "Fret not thyself because of evil doers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity. For they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the green herb."

Daniel iv. 3. "His kingdom is an everlasting

# XXX.

With Him dwelleth the spirit of intellectual wisdom, the spirit of instruction and of power, and the spirit of those who sleep in righteousness; He shall judge secret things.

# XXXI.

Nor shall any be able to utter a single word before him; for the Elect one is in the presence of the Lord of spirits, according to his own pleasure. kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation."

### XXX.

1 Corinthians i. 30. "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us, wisdom."

Luke xxi. 15. "For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist."

Proverbs xv. 33. "The fear of the Lord is the instruction of wisdom."

Acts vii. 59. "And they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Psalm xxxi. 5. "Into thine hand I commit my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth."

Romans ii. 16. "God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel."

# XXXI.

Habakkuk ii. 20. "The Lord is in his holy temple, Let all the earth keep silence before him."

Isaiah xli. 1. "Keep silence before me, O islands, and let the people renew their strength."

John xvi. 28. "I came forth from the Father,

# XXXII.

In those days the saints and the chosen shall undergo a change. The light of day shall rest upon them; and the splendor and glory of the saints shall be changed.

# XXXIII.

In the day of trouble evil shall be heaped up upon sinners; but the righteous shall triumph in the name of the Lord of spirits. and am come into the world: again I leave the world, and go to the Father."

#### XXXII.

I Corinthians xv. 51. "Behold, I shew you a mystery; We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed."

Revelation xxi. 23, 24. "And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it."

### XXXIII.

Isaiah xvii. 14. "And behold, at evening-tide, trouble."

Psalm xi. 6. "Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and a burning tempest; this shall be the portion of their cup."

Psalm xlvii. 1, 2, "O clap your hands all ye people, shout unto God with the voice of triumph; For the Lord most high is terrible. He is a great King over all the earth."

#### XXXIV.

Others shall be made to see, that they must repent, and forsake the works of their hands; and that glory awaits them not in the presence of the Lord of spirits; yet that by his name they may be saved. The Lord of spirits will have compassion on them; for great is his mercy; and righteousness is in his judgment, and in the presence of his glory; nor in his judgment shall iniquity stand. He who repents not before Him shall perish.

## XXXV.

Henceforward I will not have mercy on them, saith the Lord of spirits.

### XXXVI.

In those days shall the earth deliver up from her womb, and hell deliver up from hers, that which it has received; and destruction shall restore that which it owes.

### XXXIV.

Acts xvii. 30. "God now commandeth all men every where to repent: because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained."

John iii. 17. "For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved."

2 Peter iii. 9. "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night."

### XXXV.

Ezekiel xxxiii. 11. "As I live saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?"

### XXXVI.

Revelation xx. 13. "And death and hell gave up the dead which were in them, and they were judged every man according to their works."

Psalm xlix. 14, 15. "Like sheep they are laid

### XXXVII.

He shall select the righteous and holy from among them; for the day of their salvation has approached.

## XXXVIII.

And in those days shall the Elect one sit upon his throne, while every secret of intellectual wisdom shall proceed from his mouth; for the Lord of spirits has gifted and glorified him.

## XXXIX.

In those days the mountains shall skip like rams, and the hills shall leap like young sheep

in the grave; death shall feed on them; and the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning; and their beauty shall consume in the grave from their dwelling. But God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave; for he shall receive me. Selah!"

## XXXVII.

1 Corinthians xv. 22, 23. "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order: Christ the first-fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming."

Revelation xx. 5. "But the rest of the dead lived not till the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection."

### XXXVIII.

Revelation iii. 21. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne."

Matthew xxv. 31. "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory."

## XXXIX.

Psalm lxviii. 16. "Why leap ye, ye high hills? this is the hill which God desireth to dwell in."

satiated with milk; and all the righteous shall become angels in heaven.

# XL.

Their countenance shall be bright with joy; for in those days shall the Elect one be exalted. The earth shall rejoice; the righteous shall inhabit it, and the elect possess it.

#### XLI.

Blessed are ye, O saints and elect, for glorious is your lot.

#### XLII.

The saints shall exist in the light of the sun, and the elect in the light of everlasting life, the days of whose life shall never terminate; nor shall the days of the saints be numbered, who seek for light, and obtain righteousness with the Lord of spirits. Matthew xxii. 30. "In the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven."

#### XL.

Isaiah lxv. 17, 18. "For behold I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind. But be ye glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create: for behold I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy."

### XLI.

Isaiah lxv. 9. "And mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there."

### XLII.

Malachi iv. 2. "But unto you that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings."

Revelation xxi. 4. "And there shall be no more death."

Revelation x. 5, 6. "And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven, and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things

### XLIII.

Peace be to the saints with the Lord of the world.

#### XLIV.

Henceforward shall the saints be told to seek in heaven the secrets of righteousness, the portion of faith; for like the sun has it arisen upon the earth, while darkness has passed away. There shall be light interminable; nor shall they enter upon the enumeration of time; for darkness shall be previously destroyed, and light shall increase before the Lord of spirits; before the Lord of spirits shall the light of uprightness increase for ever.

### XLV.

And it shall be, that those who have been destroyed in the desert, and who have been devoured by the fish of the sea, and by wild beasts, shall return, and trust in the day of the Elect one; for none shall perish in the presence of the Lord of spirits, nor shall any be capable of perishing.

which are therein, that there should be time no longer."

### XLIII.

John xiv. 27. "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you."

#### XLIV.

Isaiah lx. 1. "Arise! Shine! for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

Isaiah lx. 19. "The sun shall be no more thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory."

Isaiah xxxii. 17. "And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever."

#### XLV.

Revelation xx. 13. "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it."

John iii. 14, 15. "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life."

### XLVI.

Then they received the commandment, all who were in the heavens above; to whom a combined power, voice, and splendor, like fire, were given.

## XLVII.

And first, with their voice, they blessed Him, they exalted Him, they glorified Him with wisdom, and ascribed to Him wisdom with the word, and with the breath of life.

Romans vi. 23. "The gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."

John x. 28. "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand."

#### XLVI.

Revelation iv. 5. "And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices: and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God."

Ezekiel i. 13. "As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance was like burning coals of fire, and like the appearance of lamps—And the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning."

#### XLVII.

Revelation xi. 15. "And the seventh angel sounded: and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever."

Revelation v. 11, 12. "And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the *living creatures* and the elders:

## XLVIII.

Then the Lord of spirits seated upon the throne of his glory the Elect one;

## XLIX.

Who shall judge all the works of the holy, in heaven above, and in a balance shall He weigh their actions. And when he shall lift up his countenance to judge their secret ways in the word of the name of the Lord of spirits, and their progress in the path of the righteous judgment of God most high;

L.

They shall all speak with united voice; and

and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing."

## XLVIII.

Isaiah xlii. 1. "Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine Elect, in whom my soul delighteth."

1 Peter ii. 6. "Wherefore also it is contained in the Scripture, Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded.

Psalm ix. 7. "The Lord shall endure for ever, he hath prepared his throne for judgment."

## XLIX.

Daniel v. 27. "Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting."

Matthew x. 26. "For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known."

Isaiah xxvi. 7. "Thou most upright, dost weigh the path of the just."

#### L.

Revelation xix. 5. "And a voice came out of

bless, glorify, exalt, and praise, in the name of the Lord of spirits.

### LI.

He shall call to every power of the heavens, to all the holy above, and to the power of God. The Cherubim, the Seraphim, and the Ophanin, all the angels of power, and all the angels of the Lords, namely, of the Elect one, and of the other Power, who was upon earth over the water on that day,

# LII.

Shall raise their united voice; shall bless, glorify, praise, and exalt with the spirit of faith, with the throne, saying, Praise our God all ye his servants, and ye that fear him both small and great."

Psalm l. 5. 6. "Gather my saints together unto me; those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice. And the heavens shall declare his righteousness, for God is judge himself. Selah!"

#### LI.

Psalm lxxx. 1. "Thou that dwellest between the Cherubims, shine forth!"

Isaiah vi. 1, 2. "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the Seraphim."

Ezekiel i. 19, 20. "And when the living creatures went, the *Ophanin* went by them; and when the living creatures were lifted up from the earth, the *Ophanin* were lifted up. Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went, thither was their spirit to go; and the *Ophanin* were lifted up over against them: for the spirit of the living creature was in the *Ophanin*."

Genesis i. 2. "And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

## LII.

Psalm cxlviii. 2. "Praise ye him, all his angels: praise ye him, all his hosts."

the spirit of wisdom and patience, with the spirit of mercy, with the spirit of judgment and peace, and with the spirit of charity; all shall say with united voice; Blessed is He; and the name of the Lord of spirits shall be blessed for ever and for ever; all, who sleep not, shall bless it in heaven above.

#### LIII.

All the holy in heaven shall bless it; all the elect who dwell in the garden of life; and every spirit of light, who is capable of blessing, glorifying, exalting, and praising thy holy name; and every mortal man, more than the powers of heaven, shall glorify and bless thy name for ever and ever.

## LIV.

For great is the mercy of the Lord of spirits; long-suffering is He; and all his works, all his power, great as are the things which He has done, has He revealed to the saints and to the elect, in the name of the Lord of spirits.

Psalm ciii. 21. "Bless ye the Lord, all ye his hosts; ye ministers of his that do his pleasure."

Revelation iv. 8. "And the four living creatures had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within: and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come."

#### LIII.

Psalm cxv. 17, 18. "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence; but we will praise the Lord from this time forth and for evermore. Praise the Lord."

Revelation xxii. 2. "In the midst of the street of it, and of either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."

## LIV.

Exodus xxxiv. 6. "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and in truth."

1 Timothy i. 16. "For this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might shew forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which

# LV.

Thus the Lord commanded the kings, the princes, the exalted, and those who dwell on earth, saying; Open your eyes, and lift up your horns, if you are capable of comprehending the Elect one.

# LVI.

The Lord of spirits sat upon the throne of his glory.

should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting."

Ephesians iii. 4. 5. "Whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ; which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto the holy apostles and prophets by the spirit."

#### LV.

Psalm lxxii 8,9. "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth: all that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him, and his enemies shall lick the dust."

Psalm lxxxix. 17. "For thou art the glory of their strength, and in thy favor our horns shall be exalted."

Psalm ii. 10. "Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye that are judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice before him with reverence."

#### LVI.

Revelation xx. 11. "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them."

Matthew xxv. 31. "When the Son of man shall

## LVII.

And the spirit of righteousness was poured out over him.

## LVIII.

The word of his mouth shall destroy all the sinners and all the ungodly, who shall perish at his presence.

## LIX.

In that day shall all the kings, the princes, the exalted, and those who possess the earth, stand up,

come in his glory, and all his holy angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory."

#### LVII

Isaiah xi. 2. 4. "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.—With righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth."

### LVIII.

Isaiah xi. 4. "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked."

Psalm ii. 12. "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the right way, when his wrath is kindled but a little."

Revelation xix. 15. "And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God."

## LIX.

Psalm lxxvi. 8, 9. 12. "Thou didst cause judgment to be heard from heaven: the earth feared.

behold, and perceive, that He is sitting on the throne of his glory; that before Him the saints shall be judged in righteousness;

## LX.

And that nothing, which shall be spoken before Him, shall be spoken in vain.

# LXI.

Trouble shall come upon them, as upon a woman in travail, whose labour is severe, when her child comes to the mouth of the womb, and she finds it difficult to bring forth.

## LXII.

One portion of them shall look upon another. They shall be astonished, and shall humble their countenance: and was still: when God arose to judgment, to save all the meek of the earth. Selah. He shall cut off the spirit of princes: he is terrible to the kings of the earth."

#### LX.

Matthew xii. 36, 37. "I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned."

Jeremiah xliv. 29. "And this shall be a sign unto you, saith the Lord, that I will punish you in this place, that ye may know that my words shall surely stand against you for evil."

### LXI.

1 Thessalonians v. 2, 3. " For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape."

### LXII.

Ezekiel xxvi. 16. "They shall clothe themselves with trembling; they shall sit upon the ground,

## LXIII.

And trouble shall seize them, when they shall behold this Son of woman sitting upon the throne of his glory.

### LXIV.

Then shall the kings, the princes, and all who possess the earth, glorify Him who has dominion over all things, Him who was concealed; for from the beginning the Son of man existed in secret, whom the Most High preserved in the presence of his power, and revealed to the elect.

and shall tremble at every moment, and be astonished at thee."

Jeremiah xiii. 18. "Say unto the king and to the queen, Humble yourselves, sit down; for your principalities shall come down, even the crown of your glory."

## LXIII.

Isaiah vii. 14. "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."

Isaiah ix. 6. "For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace."

# LXIV.

Numbers xxiv. 19. "Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city."

Psalm lxxii. 8. "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth."

1 Corinthians ii. 7, 8. "But we speak the wis-

# LXV.

He shall sow the congregation of the saints, and of the elect; and all the elect shall stand before Him in that day.

dom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory: which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."

Deuteronomy xxix. 29. "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God."

#### LXV.

Jeremiah xxxi. 27, 28. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will sow the house of Israel, and the house of Judah, with the seed of man, and with the seed of beast. And it shall come to pass, that like as I have watched over them, to pluck up, and to break down, and to throw down, and to destroy, and to afflict; so will I watch over them, to build, and to plant, saith the Lord."

Isaiah lxv. 9. "And I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains: and mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there."

Luke xxi. 36. "Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man."

### LXVI.

All the kings, the princes, the exalted, and those who rule over the earth, shall fall down on their faces before Him, and shall worship Him.

# LXVII.

They shall fix their hopes on this Son of man, shall pray to Him, and petition Him for mercy.

# LXVIII.

Then shall the Lord of spirits hasten to expel them from his presence. Their faces shall be full of confusion, and their faces shall darkness cover. The angels shall take them to punishment, that

#### LXVI.

Psalm ii. 2. "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure."

1 Chronicles xvi. 29, 30. "Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name; bring an offering, and come before him: worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness. Fear before him, all the earth."

### LXVII.

1 John iii. 3. "And every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself even as he is pure."

Romans ix. 14. "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy: and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion."

### LXVIII.

Matthew xxv. 41. "Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." vengeance may be inflicted on those who have oppressed his children and his elect. And they shall become an example to the saints and to his elect. Through them shall these be made joyful; for the anger of the Lord of spirits shall rest upon them.

## LXIX.

Then the sword of the Lord of spirits shall be drunk with their blood; but the saints and elect shall be safe in that day; nor the face of the sinners and the ungodly shall they thenceforwards behold.

Matthew xxv. 30. "And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

Matthew xiii. 39, 40, 41. "The harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of this world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend and them which do iniquity."

Hebrews x. 30. "For we know him that hath said, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord."

Psalm ii. 9. "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

## LXIX.

Isaiah lxvi. 16. "For by fire and by his sword will the Lord plead with all flesh: and the slain of the Lord shall be many."

Isaiah xxxiv. 6. 8. "The sword of the Lord is filled with blood—For it is the day of the Lord's vengeance."

Revelation xix. 15. "And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite

### LXX.

The Lord of spirits shall remain over them:

#### LXXI.

And with this Son of man shall they dwell, eat, lie down, and rise up, for ever and ever.

## LXXII.

The saints and the elect have arisen from the earth, have left off to depress their countenances, and have been clothed with the garment of life. That garment of life is with the Lord of spirits, in whose presence your garment shall not wax old, nor shall your glory diminish.

the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God."

### LXX.

Deuteronomy xxxii. 9. "For the Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance."

Psalm xciv. 14. "The Lord will not cast off his people, neither will be forsake his inheritance. But judgment shall return unto righteousness; and all the upright in heart shall follow it."

### LXXI.

2 Corinthians vi. 16. "As God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."

Revelation xxi. 3. "And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men; and he will dwell with them and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God."

# LXXII.

Revelation vi. 11. "And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled."

### LXXIII.

All these confess and laud before the Lord of spirits.

### LXXIV.

They glorify with all their power of praise; and He sustains them in all that act of thanksgiving, while they laud, glorify, and exalt the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

# LXXV.

And with them He establishes this oath, by which they and their paths are preserved; nor does their progress perish.

Revelation vii. 14, 15, 16, 17. "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them."

Matthew vi. 20. "Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt."

#### LXXIII.

Psalm cxlix. 1, 2. "Praise ye the Lord, Sing unto the Lord a new song, and his praise in the congregation of saints."

### LXXIV.

Isaiah lxi. 3. "The Lord will comfort Zion—Joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody."

Psalm cviii. 5, 6. "Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens; and thy glory above all the earth: that thy beloved may be delivered."

# LXXV.

John x. 28. "I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand."

## LXXVI.

Great was their joy.

## LXXVII.

They blessed, glorified, and exalted, because the name of the Son of man was revealed to them.

## LXXVIII.

He sat upon the throne of his glory; and the principal part of the judgment was assigned to Him, the Son of man. Sinners shall disappear and perish from the face of the earth, while those who seduced them shall be bound with chains for ever.

## LXXVI.

1 Corinthians ii. 9. "As it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."

1 Peter iv. 13. "That when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy."

## LXXVII.

Philippians ii. 9, 10. "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow."

## LXXVIII.

Psalm xcvii. 1, 2. "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice.—Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne."

John v. 22. "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son: that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father."

Psalm civ. 35. "Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more."

Revelation xx. 1, 2. 7, 8. 10. "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand."

## LXXIX.

According to their ranks of corruption shall they be imprisoned, and all their works shall disappear from the face of the earth; nor thenceforward shall there be any to corrupt; for the Son of man has been seen, sitting upon the throne of his glory.

## LXXX.

Every thing wicked shall disappear, and depart from before his face; and the word of the Son of man shall become powerful in the presence of the Lord of spirits.

### LXXIX.

Matthew xxv. 41. "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."

Revelation xxii. 3. "And there shall be no more curse; but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him."

Revelation xxi. 5. "And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new."

## LXXX.

Isaiah i. 24, 25. "Therefore saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts, the mighty One of Israel, Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies; and I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy sin."

Luke xxi. 33. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."

# THE PROPHECY OF ENOCH.

А.М. 1 то 700.

I.

ENOCH then began to speak from a book and said, I have been born the seventh in the first week while judgment and righteousness, wait with patience.

А. М. 700 то 1400.

II.

But after me, in the second week great wickedness shall arise, and fraud shall spring forth.

## III.

In that week the end of the first shall take place, in which mankind shall be safe.

## IV.

But when it is completed, iniquity shall grow up, and he shall execute the decree upon sinners.

## **SCRIPTURE**

## PARALLELS.

## I.

Genesis v. 18. "And Jared lived an hundred and sixty two years, and he begat Enoch."

## Η.

Genesis vi. 5. "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart, was only evil continually."

### III.

Genesis vi. 3. "And the Lord said; my spirit shall not always strive with man."

### IV.

Genesis vi. 11, 12. "The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence.

## А. М. 1400 то 2100.

V.

Afterwards in the third week, during its completion, a man of the plant of righteous judgment shall be selected; and after him the plant of righteousness shall come for ever.

## А. М. 2100 то 2800.

VI.

Subsequently in the fourth week during its completion, the visions of the holy and the righteous shall be seen; The order of generation after generation shall take place, and an habitation shall be made for them. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth."

### V.

Genesis xii. 1. "Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee."

Genesis xv. 18. "In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates."

Micah vii. 20. "Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old."

## VI.

Genesis xlvi. 2. "And God spake unto Israel in the visions of the night, and said, Jacob, Jacob. And he said, Here am I."

Exodus iii. 2. 4. "And the angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush.—And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush."

## А. М. 2100 то 2800.

(Visions of the holy and righteous.)

(Order of generation after generation.)

# А. М. 2800 то 3500.

## VII.

Then in the fifth week during its completion, the house of glory and dominion shall be erected for ever. Judges vi. 12. "And the angel of the Lord appeared unto Gideon, and said unto him, The Lord is with thee, thou mighty man of valour."

Judges xiii. 22. "And Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God."

Exodus xl. 15. "Their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood, throughout their generations."

Exodus xl. 2. "On the first day of the first month shalt thou set up the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation. And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony."

Joshua xviii. 1. "And the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled together at Shiloh, and set up the tabernacle of the congregation there."

## VII.

1 Kings viii. 12, 13. "Then spake Solomon, The Lord said that he would dwell in the thick darkness. I have surely built thee an house to dwell in, a settled place for thee to abide in for ever."

Haggai ii. 7. 9. "And the Desire of all nations shall come; and I will fill this house with glory,

А. М. 3500 то 4200. A. D. 1 то 200. VIII.

After that in the sixth week, all those who are in it shall be darkened, The hearts of all of them shall be forgetful of wisdom, and in it shall a man ascend.

## IX.

During its completion also the house of do-

saith the Lord of hosts.—The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts."

## VIII.

Isaiah v. 30. "If one look unto the land, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light is darkened in the heavens thereof."

Isaiah lix. 9. "We wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness."

Matthew xiii. 15. "For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed."

1 Corinthians i. 20. "Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world."

1 Corinthians iii. 19. "For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."

John iii, 13. "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven."

Acts i. 11. "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven."

## IX.

Matthew xxiv. 2. "Verily I say unto you, There

minion shall be burnt with fire, and all the race of the elect root shall be dispersed.

А. М. 4200 то 4900 А. D. 200 то 900.

X

Afterwards, in the seventh week, a perverse generation shall arise; abundant shall be its deeds,

shall not be left here, one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down."

Matthew xxiv. 20. "But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day."

Luke xx. 16. "He shall come and destroy these husbandmen, and shall give the vineyard to others."

Leviticus xxvi. 33. "And I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste."

Revelation vi. 1, 2. "And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals; and I heard, as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four living creatures, saying, Come and see. And I saw, and behold a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer."

Revelation viii. 7. "The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth."

#### Χ.

Revelation vi. 3. "And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature say, Come and see. And there went out another and all its deeds perverse. During its completion the righteous, selected from the plant of everlasting righteousness shall be rewarded, and to them shall be given seven-fold instruction respecting every part of his creation.

# A. M. 4900 то 5600. A. D. 900 то 1600.

## XI.

Afterwards there shall be another week, the eighth, of righteousness, to which shall be given a sword to execute judgment and justice upon all oppressors. Sinners shall be delivered up into the hands of the righteous, who during its completion shall acquire habitations by their righteousness; and the house of the great King shall be built up for ever.

horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth."

Revelation xii. 11. "And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death."

#### XI

Revelation xiv. 6—13. "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth."

Revelation ii. 23. "And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works."

Revelation ii. 26. "He that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations."

Revelation xvi. 6. "They have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy."

Revelation vi. 11. "And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season,

## А. М. **5**600 то 6300 — А. D. 1600 то 2300. : XII.

After that, in the ninth week, shall the judgment of righteousness, be revealed to the whole world. Every work of the ungodly shall disappear from the whole earth; the world shall be marked for destruction: and all men shall strive to discern the path of goodness

until their fellowservants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled."

- 1 Peter ii. 5. "Ye also as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house."
- 1 Corinthians iii. 17. "For the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are."

Hebrews iii. 6. "Whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end."

## XII.

Revelation vi. 12—17. "And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and, lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood. And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind. And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places, &c."

Revelation xix. 7. "Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready."

## А. М. 6300 то 7000. A. D. 2300 то 3000. XIII.

And after this, on the seventh day of the tenth week, there shall be an everlasting judgment, which shall be executed upon the watchers: and a spacious eternal heaven shall spring forth in the midst of the angels. The former heaven shall pass away; a new heaven shall appear; and all the celestial powers shine with seven-fold splendor for ever. Afterwards likewise shall there be many weeks, which shall eternally exist in goodness and in righteousness. Neither shall sin be named there for ever and ever.

## XIII.

Revelation xx. 12. "And the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works."

Revelation xx. 4. "And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them."

Revelation xx. 10. "And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone."

Revelation xxi. 1. "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away."

Revelation xxi. 11. "And her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal."

Revelation xxi. 25. "And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there.—And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie."

Revelation xxii. 3. "And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him."

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## **OBSERVATIONS**

ON THE

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

ONE of the most accurate and learned inquirers among those who have endeavoured to reconcile the difficulties of ancient chronology, prefaces a part of his works by this observation\*:—"He "who undertakes to unravel and to reconcile "the events of the earliest ages, does indeed attempt a task, the extreme labour of which "is enhanced by continual difficulties†."

And if this were necessarily always the case, from the inherent obscurity of the subject itself, when considered merely with a reference to

<sup>\*</sup> Perizonii Origines Babylonicæ, p. 1.

<sup>† &</sup>quot;Ardui sane et multis difficultatibus impediti laboris "aggreditur opus, qui res antiquissimi temporis eruendas "sibi atque expediendas sumit."

ancient records, it must be admitted that the researches of modern authors have accumulated such a mass of real or supposed evidence, in defence both of the chronology of the Hebrew text, and that of the Septuagint, that the conclusion to which most inquirers will now, however unwillingly, arrive, must be, that it is no longer possible to separate, by any external evidence, the true data from those which are corrupt, or to fix the exact epoch of particular events, by reasoning upon the various parts of any order of chronological succession. Without perusing the earlier and more voluminous writers, who seem almost to have made this controversy a branch of the dissensions between the Roman and Reformed Churches, it will be evident from the most cursory comparison of the works of Usher, Marsham, or Perizonius, with the elaborate work of Dr. Hales, with that of Shuckford, or with the more recent Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, written by the learned Dr. Russell, that the points on which their different systems are founded, have long since been beyond the reach of any accurate determination; and that we must now be satisfied with a balance

of probabilities, if we seek to fill up, either on one system or the other, the outline which is given to us in the authentic records of the Holy Scripture \*.

Strongly impressed, therefore, as I am, with the persuasion that the chronology which places the coming of our Lord in the 3999th, or 4000th year of the world, that is to say, in the fourth or fifth year before our vulgar era, is correct, I shall not re-enter the arena; which has been trodden by the steps of so many learned combatants on either side, but giving up as impracticable the attempt to assign a sequence of dates more plausible than that which the learned Usher has long since arranged, I shall confine myself to such observations, as may show, in the first place, some objections against the chronology of the Septuagint, which arise either from internal evidence, or the collateral testimony of other circumstances. I shall then pursue the inquiry, whether, supposing that the chronolo-

<sup>\*</sup> I need searcely remind the reader of such points as those of the second Cainan, the departure of Abraham from Haran, or the duration to be assigned to the several periods of the Judges.

gical evidence for both theories is set aside, we may find reason to assume, from traditionary, from prophetic, or apocryphal evidence, that any determinate duration has been assigned to the world; and whether the duration so assigned is marked by any peculiarity of recurrence as to its intervals.

If it be found that such a period was anciently expected, and that the parts of that period coincide with, or closely approximate to, the leading events of the chronology of Archbishop Usher, it may then be presumed that the circumstantial evidence thus obtained from different sources, will tend strongly to confirm the truth of the computation with which it coincides.

I have forgotten the name of the old writer who says of traditionary evidence, that "a great "cloud of smoke argues at least a little fire." But the observation is a shrewd one, and I have reminded the reader of it, lest he should consider some of the testimonies which I shall adduce, as being of no value, because of their want of authority.

This may indeed be the case with each, when taken separately, while still the concurrence of various repetitions of the same tale, may acquire, from comparison, a force of evidence second only to rigid demonstration.

Wherever, or from whatever source, the difference between the numbers given by the Hebrew, by the Samaritan, and Greek versions, may have originated, it is manifestly too great to have been accidental, as the former having 1656; the Samaritan, 1307; and the Greek of the seventy interpreters, 2256 years, the greatest difference is 955, and the least, 606 years before the Deluge; while from that period to the birth of Abraham, the difference between the Hebrew and Septuagint is 780, making in all, 1386 years. In some way or other, therefore, this difference is to be accounted for, and the knot has, on behalf of the Seventy, rather been cut, than unloosed, by the assumption, that the Jewish Rabbis must have advisedly shortened the periods of the generations in the Hebrew, by subtracting a century from each; and the motive assigned for this proceeding, is their desire to obtain an argument against the fulfilment of the predictions relative to the Messiah.

This theory must of course proceed on the ground, that the authority of the Septuagint is indisputable.

I will, therefore, proceed to inquire into the authority which the chronology of this version really possesses.

On the general question of comparison between this version and the Hebrew, the acute and learned Bishop Horsley says \*, "With res-"pect to the Greek version of the LXX. in " particular, it may reasonably be made a doubt "whether the MSS. from which it was made, "were they now extant, would be entitled to "the same degree of credit as our modern "Hebrew text, notwithstanding their compara-"tively high antiquity. There is certainly much "reason to believe that after the destruction of "the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, perhaps from "a somewhat earlier period, the Hebrew text " was in a much worse state of corruption, in "the copies which were in private hands, than " it has ever been since the revision of the sacred "books by Ezra. These inaccurate copies would

<sup>\*</sup> Works, vol. vii. p. 285.

" be multiplied during the whole period of the Captivity, and widely scattered in Assyria, Persia, and Egypt; in short, through all the "regions of the dispersion.

"The text as revised by Ezra was certainly of "much higher credit than any of these copies, " notwithstanding their greater antiquity. " edition succeeded, as it were, to the preroga-"tives of an autograph (the autographs of the "inspired writers themselves being totally lost), " and was henceforward to be considered as the " only source of authentic texts: insomuch that "the comparative merit of any text now extant "will depend upon the probable degree of its "approximation to, or distance from, the Esdrine "edition. Now, if the translation of the LXX " was made from some of those old MSS. which "the dispersed Jews had carried into Egypt, or " from any other of those unauthenticated copies, " (which is the prevailing tradition among the "Jews, and is very probable, at least it cannot "be confuted,) it will be likely that the faultiest "MS. now extant differs less from the genuine " Esdrine text, than those more ancient, which "the version of the LXX represents."

These are the words of an author, who seems to have considered the chronology of the LXX as more correct than that of the Hebrew, and they cannot therefore be supposed to proceed from any wish to depreciate the authority of the former.

There are, then, two ways in which the version of the LXX may have become incorrect. It may either have been made from copies previously corrupted, or it may have been corrupted by the translators themselves. If corrupted in the previous copies, there must have been some general cause to produce that corruption.

It is evidently probable, that during those years of distress and trouble, after which the captivity commenced, many manuscripts would fall into the power of the invaders, and be destroyed; and the dearth thus created would produce a corresponding demand for additional copies among the Jews, not only of Babylon, but of the whole Dispersion. With regard to doctrines, the transcribers would remain uninfluenced by their change of country. But as to the calculation of chronology, the scribes must quickly have discovered, that their computation, supposing

it to have been the same as that now given by the Hebrew, differed widely from the calculations of the nations among whom they were thrown; for the Chaldeans and Egyptians equally affected a great antiquity; and the neighbouring nations must, more or less, have shared in whatever error of computation was produced by misconception of the real periods computed under that enor. mous number of fictitious years, by which the ancient priests enigmatically communicated to their successors a knowledge which required a key to the terms made use of, before it could be rightly understood. Like Josephus, who speaks\* of the Egyptians and Babylonians as having, above all other nations, "the most ancient and "most constant tradition of history," it is probable that the Jews would be dazzled by the pretensions of their new masters to superior antiquity; and as they would not be inclined to doubt the truth of the Mosaic history, while they must have thus been sensible that their own were certainly the earliest records; both their national pride, and the confident assertions of those who

<sup>\* &</sup>quot; Αρχαιστατην τε και μονιμωτατην της μνημης την παρα" δοσιν." Lib. i. cont. Apion.

had the "wisdom of the Chaldeans," would concur to persuade them, that some years had been omitted in the Hebrew account.

Thus we can at least see, that there might be a very general and prevailing reason why the Hebrew calculation, if originally shorter than that of the Chaldean or Egyptian sages, should be lengthened during the captivity, or subsequent to it. Nor does this certainly infer any want of good faith in those who made the alteration, since they might naturally imagine that some such correction was required. The same considerations may be supposed to have operated on the minds of the Septuagint translators, if we exclude the probability of previous alteration in the Hebrew copies used by them.

It has been argued by several authors, with great care and labour, that from the fragments of Alexander Polyhistor, quoted by Eusebius, onwards, there is a general consent of authorities among Greek authors, who all agree in using the same calculation as the Septuagint; and that this consent subsists till the second century of our era. I think that the fact is incontrovertible, and am therefore ready most fully to admit it;

but the inference that the authenticity of the Hebrew computation is thus disproved, does not necessarily follow. From the time of the Septuagint translation it would be read by the Jews of the dispersion, as well as by the other authors who have been referred to; and unless they could refer to the Esdrine copy of the Hebrew, or to some other Hebrew text of authority, the difference of the two calculations would remain unobserved.

But we know that the Jews themselves, on their return from Babylon, had so greatly lost their knowledge of the pure Hebrew, that when Ezra opened the book of the law in the sight of all the people, it was necessary to interpret it. "The Levites read in the book in the law of God "distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them "to understand the reading." (Neh. viii. 5. 8) Nor can it be supposed that the circumstances of the nation afterwards were such as to revive the knowledge of the more ancient language, or to check the gradually general use of a still more modern dialect; so that the transcription of the law must necessarily have been rare; and, if

transcribed, it must have been still more rarely accessible for any purpose of collation.

Nor is it probable that any doubt arose as to the correctness of the Septuagint; and thus it would necessarily become the sole authority referred to, as being the only one generally understood, or valued. But still, among the learned Jews, previous to the Christian era, traces must be found of the existence of the Hebrew numbers, if they were really according to the original computation: and that such traces are to be observed, I hope hereafter to prove; not only on the authority of that computation made use of in the book of Enoch, which the reader has already seen, but from other sources also.

It will be found that the ancient Jews did not expect the Messiah in the sixth, but in the fourth chiliad; and therefore the supposition that the reckoning of time was altered by them, so as to throw the advent of the Messiah, acknowledged by the Christians, upon the precise time at which his coming had been foretold and expected, will become totally inadmissible; and some other

reason, as well as some other time, for this alteration, will remain yet to be discovered.

Thus, we may discern a possible and not improbable cause for the alteration of the Septuagint, whether we consider it to have taken place during the translation, or shortly before that period.

If, indeed, we give credit to the account of Philo, the translators not only performed their task with exactness; but, although separated, miraculously made use of the very same words. But to such a witness as this 1 pay no regard; since, of all testimonies, that which proves too much, is the most liable to suspicion.

Nor do I imagine that the pseudo Aristeas can be otherwise regarded than as a work of imagination, in which truth and fiction are so blended, that it is impossible to separate them.

It is, however, to be remarked, that although Philo, within a few pages of the passage above cited, (p. 501 and 496,) speaks of the Hebrews by name, calling Moses also, at p. 823,  $E\beta_{\rho\alpha\iota\nu\nu}$ , and  $\epsilon\kappa$  yevour  $E\beta_{\rho\alpha\iota\nu\nu}$ ; and although, in a great number of places, he speaks of the Chaldeans as distinct from the Hebrews, yet repeatedly observes, that the Septuagint was translated, not

from the Hebrew, but from the Chaldean tongue, using the words Χαλδαιος and Χαλδαικος several times \*: and by this, as he declares that the copy was sent from Jerusalem, he must have meant the mixed language, which was in use in Judea at that time.

There is thus some evidence in favour of the conjecture of Bp. Horsley, already mentioned; since it would have been much easier to collect a number of interpreters, to whom both that language and the Greek were known, than such as might be qualified to translate the pure Hebrew; and as copies in the vernacular idiom must have been far most easily attainable, the probable circumstances of the case very much coincide with the expression used by Philo.

The testimony of Josephus, depending, as it does, upon the existence of single words, which in the various copies occur with some variation, is of so mixed a character that little reliance can be placed on it, either to support the Septuagint calculation, or to invalidate it; for if there seems cause to conclude that he wrote the sum of years

<sup>\*</sup> De Vit. Mosis, lib. xi. p. 509.

anterior to the flood as 1658, in agreement with the Hebrew; so, on the other hand, the separate numbers ascribed by him to the successive generations, closely approximate to those of the Septuagint.

The variation in the numbers, which are given by the version of Ruffinus, adds to the difficulty of founding any arguments upon the statements of former copies, since the greater proportion of those given by Ruffinus, agree with the Hebrew calculation; while two of them, those of Malaleel and Enoch, neither agree with the Hebrew nor with the Septuagint itself. For the former, the Hebrew has 65 years; the Septuagint, 165; while Josephus gives 162: and for the latter, while there is the same difference of a century between the Hebrew and Septuagint, which have 165 and 65 years, Josephus has 105. Doubtless these numbers originally agreed either with the Hebrew or Greek, but their casual alteration impairs the general credit of the calculation to which they belong, as much as if we were to suppose that they had been wilfully corrupted.

The remark of Fabricius, "That the ancients seem universally to have paid but little atten-

"tion to the verification of dates \*," may perhaps account for much of this confusion; and as it would seem that Josephus used the Hebrew and the Septuagint indifferently, his own statements might thus have differed, from mere inadvertence to the subject of chronology.

Josephus indeed has expressly stated, that he drew his materials from the original Hebrew, but yet it seems that he certainly made use of the Septuagint for the purpose of quotation. This appears from many changes of names, in which, differing from the Hebrew, he has exactly followed the Septuagint.

Some such coincidences might be attributed to an agreement of opinion in both translators, as to the euphony of the Greek; but the substitution of Paγav for Rehu, or of Nεξρωδ for Nimrod, being entirely arbitrary, could not be accidental in both cases. But thus the authority of Josephus, as a witness with respect to the state of the Hebrew original at the period when his work was composed, will always be doubtful, since we can have no assurance that any pas-

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Mirari licet veteres diu et passim doctrinæ temporum parum curiosos fuisse."—Chron. p. 164.

sage, as to which we appeal to his authority, may not, like the names which I have already quoted, have been taken from the Septuagint itself.

But the Septuagint contains a number more evidently vitiated than any which is found in the Hebrew; for the age of Methuselah at the birth of Lamech is there stated as 167 years, from whence it would follow that he must have lived several years beyond the flood; and although the eastern copies of the Septuagint have been referred to, as containing the same number as the Hebrew in this place, yet from the agreement of all the copies in giving eight hundred and two, instead of seven hundred and eightytwo years, as the duration of the life of Methuselah after Lamech's birth, it follows that the disagreement of the previous numbers, whatever may have caused it, cannot have arisen from a mere error of transcription.

But there is a more serious difficulty, which arises from the supposition that the periods of generation mentioned in the Septuagint are correct; for on this assumption, the average period of the succession of one generation to another, is nearly two centuries, so that the increase of mankind would have been so slow, that men could not have "begun to multiply on the face "of the earth," as we are assured that they did, previous to the era of the flood. It is worthy of remark, that the Hebrew word here used will not allow of our supposing that merely comparative increase is all which is intended by this expression, since it is "', the sense of which is not that of increase, but of multitude.

It has been observed, that the comparative agreement of the generations of Methuselah and Lamech with those of the other patriarchs, according to the Septuagint, while according to the Hebrew they so far exceed the others, is a presumption in favour of the truth of the former computation. But, as the life of Methuselah exceeded that of other patriarchs, so it is by no means inconsistent with probability, that the period of succession, even if the succession of the eldest were that which is referred to, should in his case be later than in that of others; while, with regard to Lamech, it must be remembered, that had his chosen offspring Noah been born a

century earlier, that fitness which we must suppose to have existed in his selection, must have been in some respects materially altered. It may be sufficient, therefore, to observe, that we can hardly reason from mere analogy in a case which, as we must admit, was so specially under the direction of God's particular providence, that no deviation from previous order, with regard to it, can be regarded as merely accidental. With respect to the length of the generations, which in the Septuagint only varies between 205 and 165 years, it has been sometimes imagined that this uniformity was an evidence of truth; but it is, in fact, just the contrary, unless we suppose that the names which are given, are those of the eldest children in each case. Then, indeed, we should expect that there would be an average variation, confined within narrow limits, the result of which might be taken as an index of the length of a generation at that period.

But the assumption which is thus rendered necessary, is entirely inconsistent with the narrative of the Scriptures, while it is little less repugnant to the probable circumstances which have caused these particular names to be selected, as the fixed points of Sacred History.

As we know that Seth was not the eldest of Adam's sons, and as the chosen seed of Abraham was likewise derived from a younger son, so there is no analogy whatever from whence might conclude that the names which are intermediate between these extremes, are those of the eldest children only. It may rather be concluded, that they record the perseverance of those who in each generation, resisting the temptations of the world around them, were "preachers of righteousness;" and that they have been selected, as thus bearing a continual testimony, that "the invisible things " of God have from the creation of the world "been clearly seen \*." Thus the greater variation which is found in these periods, as they stand in the Hebrew, is, in fact, rather an internal evidence of truth; since it is not probable that the periods of birth of those who might be selected for commemoration, in each successive

<sup>\*</sup> Rom. i. 20.

age, should be without some variety as to their commencement.

That those antediluvian patriarchs, who are commemorated in the Scripture, should have been thus arbitrarily chosen, will only lead us to the inference, that the same principle of selection was applied to them, as afterwards to Abraham. But the history of this patriarch and of Sarah, contains internal evidence of a very decisive character, that the dates of the Hebrew computation still remain unaltered. Abraham, it is said, "fell on his face, and laughed, "and said in his heart, Shall a child be born "unto him that is a hundred years old, and "shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear?" In other words, he considered their respective ages of a hundred, and ninety, to be beyond the period at which they could hope to have any progeny. Nor can we imagine that this is merely a metaphorical representation, or that it was a feeling confined to Abraham alone, because Sarah herself is afterwards represented as sharing in the same incredulity.

But if we assume that the dates of the Sep-

tuagint are correct, Nahor, the grandfather of Abraham, became the father of Terah at the age of a hundred and seventy years; so that, although Abraham himself may have been born not long after the birth of Haran, or previous to his father's eightieth year, yet, as this must have been the first exception to those instances of greater ages which had preceded it, the incredulity of Abraham or Sarah will still need explanation, unless, in agreement with the Hebrew computation, we admit that the shorter periods of succession, which are assigned to the preceding patriarchs, have been correctly stated. In coincidence with them, both the Hebrew and Septuagint agree that Isaac married before the age of thirty, since Sarah died when he was twenty-seven years old. And when it is said that Isaac brought Rebecca into his mother's tent, and that he was comforted after his mother's death, it must necessarily be inferred, that her death had taken place at a comparatively recent period; for the Apostle who mentions that "Abraham and Isaac dwelt in tents," sojourning in the land of promise as in a strange country,

has thus forbidden the supposition that a permanent dwelling can be alluded to in the foregoing history.

It has been sometimes observed, that the state of civilization to which the world appears to have attained in the time of Abraham, is such as would have required a longer space than three centuries for its acquirement. But it should be recollected, that the flood was not unexpected or unprepared for, by those who were preserved from it. We cannot imagine that Noah, who, with his family, must have contemplated their future situation, from the time at which the building of the ark had commenced, could have foreseen none of the circumstances in which they must necessarily be placed, when the flood should have subsided. Without assuming that Noah possessed any other foresight than that which must be common to every reflecting mind, it is obvious that the various discoveries by which the arts of life had already been introduced into the world, and the polity which had been hitherto arranged among men, would not less engage his attention, than the records of former times, in the succession of previous generations. In these

respects his situation was analogous to that of the founder of a colony, who is about to be separated from the resources of the parent country, and to be left to his own exertions in the management of his infant commonwealth. In such circumstances he would undoubtedly collect the materials for the practice of the most useful arts; he would imitate, in some degree, the jurisprudence of the country from which he might emigrate, and would be especially solicitous to teach the rising generation of his colonists, the various decencies and refinements which distinguish the social from the savage life.

Such an example and such endeavours might indeed be now comparatively ineffectual, because the term of life is too short to admit of sufficient opportunity on the one part, or of adequate experience on the other. But the greater age to which the patriarchs attained, not only fitted them for instructors, by the previously accumulated stores of long experience, but afforded ample space for the subsequent communication of traditionary knowledge. Had the succession of generations, indeed, been as slow as the Septuagint would represent it, we could hardly

account for the comparatively rapid development of the resources of their social state; but when the length of life was combined with rapidity of succession, the result is only such as might reasonably be expected.

If it be thought difficult to reconcile the apparent history of Chaldea or of Egypt with the Hebrew chronology, it may be recollected also, that as the founders of colonies have frequently sought to revive in their memory former scenes, by giving to their new abodes the names of the cities or countries from which they have derived their origin; so those confused accounts of the earliest reigns and dynasties, which have occasioned so much trouble to chronologers, may partly have arisen from the use of names subsequent to the flood, which had also been in use before it: and the combination of this similarity with the traditionary history of periods anterior to the flood, may have made it impossible to reconcile the dates at which we should thus appear to arrive, with the true computation of the scriptural history of events.

An Arabic tradition, mentioned by Kir-

cher\*, assumes that Misraim, as the first king of Egypt, learned from his father Cham the former manner of rule in that country, where Cham, having dwelt before the flood, returned when it had subsided. And visionary as this tradition may have been, it may still serve to illustrate the subject to which I have already referred, as showing that this amalgamation, as it were, of events and dates, prior to the flood, and posterior to it, has long since been thought probable.

The Septuagint certainly appears to afford a greater space for the multiplication of mankind previous to the time of Peleg, than the Hebrew; but without taking into account the slower rate of multiplication, which is involved in the Septuagint calculation, by which this discrepancy is reduced, it is quite evident from such calculations as those of Petavius or Bp. Cumberland, that the Hebrew chronology affords ample space for the multiplication of many thousands of the human race previous to the era of their disper-

<sup>\*</sup> Œdip. Ægypt. p. 72.

And here, indeed, there is another improbability involved in the longer computation; for the assembly of the whole of those who then existed, in the plain of Shinar, before the confusion of tongues, is scarcely compatible with the amount of years which must have previously elapsed according to the LXX. Mankind must either have been too numerous, or their increase must have been slower than it is represented to have been: while it is still less probable, that in journeying eastward, according to the account of the Scripture, they should have advanced so short a distance in so large a number of years. If we imagine, on the other hand, that the computation of the Hebrew involves in it any improbability on account of the long period to which Noah and Shem must have lived, compared with the age to which Abraham attained, while the former remain, during the latter part of their lives, unmentioned in the Scripture narrative; it is to be observed, that the history is equally silent as to the latter events of the life of Noah and Shem, whether we adopt the longer or the shorter computation. We are even left in uncertainty as to Noah, whether at the period of the

confusion his language remained the same as that of the progeny of Shem. If we follow the Septuagint, a great number of years will remain previous to the calling of Abraham, in which we have no record of events: while, according to the Hebrew, the events which are detailed, while the history is silent as to Shem or his immediate progeny, relate to Abraham alone. In either case the same supposition seems allowable, that since "God had said unto Abram, get thee out " of thy country, and from thy kindred, and "from thy father's house;" the same reasons which required this separation, rendered it necessary that the subsequent history should be confined to the race thus set apart for the future fulfilment of prophecy, and for the completion of the promise, that in the seed of Abraham all the nations of the earth should be blessed.

Since it is manifest how soon the race of men fell into idolatry, we may, at least, discern some reason why Noah or Shem, and their contemporaries, might be allowed a longer term of life than those who succeeded them; because thus the living witnesses of the stupendous miracle of the flood were preserved, to counteract, by their piety, a second increase of crime on earth, and to contradict, by their own experience, any error arising from ignorance, or combined with unbelief as to the providence of God.

As it is not my object to enter into the discussion of the general question between the authority of the Septuagint or Hebrew versions, I will only add the observation of a learned writer\* as to their conflicting claims: "Since there must" necessarily have been an intention to corrupt "the years of the patriarchs either on the part of the Jews, so as to shorten the period of their history, or on the part of the Greek interpretiers, so as to lengthen it; I own myself unable

\* Perizonii Origines Babylonicæ, p. 391. "Cum necessario, fraus in tot patriarcharum annis, vel ab Judæis in
Hebraico textu, ad minuendam suæ historiæ antiquitatem,
vel a Græcis interpretibus ad eam augendam, consulto
prorsus consilio debuerit fuisse facta; exputare nequeo, nec
reperio quæ tanta res Judæos movisset, ut eam minuere
adeo vellent, imprimis quum finitimi illis populi, Chaldæi,
Ægypti, &c., ex antiquitate longâ vel præcipuam suis originibus majestatem addere studuerint; et ipse Josephus pro
antiquitate rerum Judaicarum, cum Apione quoque depugnaverit. Longe itaque verisimilius, Græcos interpretes,
quicunque illi tandem fuerunt, in Ægypto fraude hac usos
esse, ne infra Ægyptorum antiquitatem longe adeo subsiderent origines Judaicæ."

"to discern what could have inclined the Jews to diminish it; particularly since the nations around them, the Chaldeans or Egyptians, chiefly claimed respect on account of the extreme antiquity of their origin: and thus Josephus contended against Apion, for the antiquity of the Hebrew polity. It therefore appears by far most probable, that the Greek interpreters, whoever they may have been, made use of this fraud in Egypt, lest the origin of the Jews should appear to be much more recent than that of the Egyptians."

In conclusion, it may be observed, that those who maintain the authenticity of the Septuagint computation, ought at least to show some probable cause to which the alteration of the Hebrew may be attributed. It has been referred indeed to the desire of the Jewish Rabbis to obtain an argument against Christianity, by showing that the Messiah did not appear in the person of Jesus Christ, at the time which had been set apart for his coming by the voice of tradition, or of prophecy. But I apprehend, that it will appear probable that our Lord did in fact come on earth at the very period at which, according

to the Masoretic chronology, his advent ought to have taken place; and thus the Jewish doctors must have altered a scheme of computation, which contradicted the belief of Christians, in order to substitute one which agreed with it. I need not insist upon the improbability of such a theory.

I proceed then to inquire, what traces can be found in the Scriptures, or in the Jewish traditions, for such a computation as that, which limiting the duration of the world to seven millenary periods, agrees with the book of Enoch in the events which are supposed to have occurred in each of them.

With respect to such a computation, the indefatigable Fabricius has left an opinion which must, at least, be admitted to be the result of the most unwearied and laborious research. He says, "I will not, like Varro, divide the whole "of time into that which is unknown, fabulous, "and historic; but I will substitute for this division the ancient tradition of the house of "Elias, so celebrated among the Jews, according to which the duration of the world is "divided into six millenaries; so that there

"should be two thousand void, or before the "law of Moses; two thousand of the law; two "thousand of the Messias \*."

The word used in the Hebrew original, and here translated as "inane," seems to show, that the first period related to the time previous to the covenant with Abraham.

The words of the tradition are as follows †:-

תנא רבית אליהו ששת אלפי שנה היו עלמא: שני אלפים תהו שני אלפים תורה ושני אלפים ימות המשיה

## Literally—

- "The declaration of the progeny of Elias:-
  - "Six thousands of years, this is for ever:
  - " Two thousands, without order;
  - "Two thousands, the covenant;
  - " And two thousands, shall continue the Messiah."

As the word תהר, which our translators have rendered, at the beginning of the book of Gene-

<sup>\*</sup> Fabricii Bibl. Antiq. p. 199. " Placet non cum Varrone

<sup>&</sup>quot; tempus omne dividere in  $A \delta \eta \lambda \sigma \nu$  μυθικον και ιστορικον, sed

<sup>&</sup>quot; huic Varronianæ divisioni potius præferre antiquam et

<sup>&</sup>quot; Judæorum testimonio celebratissimam domus Eliæ tradi-

<sup>&</sup>quot; tionem, quâ omne ævum dividitur in sex millenarios, hoc

<sup>&</sup>quot; modo: duo millia inane, sive ante legem Mosis; duo millia

<sup>&</sup>quot; lex; duo millia Messias."

<sup>†</sup> Fabricii Codex Pseud. Vet. Test. p. 1080.

sis, "without form," appears to be used in opposition to חורה in the following paragraph; the sense seems to be thus restricted to the contrast between the periods before, and subsequent to the covenant; and thus the selection of Abraham, separated from the advent of the Messiah by two chiliads, and the synchronism of the latter event with the commencement of the fifth thousand years, both appear to agree with the tradition here recorded. The use of the word עלמא, and also of עלמא, with the sense of total duration, in agreement with the book of Daniel\*, would lead to the inference that this tradition must have originated in Chaldæa, and the Chaldee idiom of the word מנת agrees with this supposition. This passage, however, having been frequently mentioned by Mede, and other writers, I will proceed to notice another, which appears still more worthy of consideration, and which I believe has hitherto remained unobserved. It is quoted by Buxtorf†, without any more exact reference than to the early Talmudists; but I apprehend that it is a relic of the

<sup>\*</sup> Dan. iv. 31. † Lexicon Talmudicum, p. 2090.

ancient Zohar\*, and that it contains internal evidence of such antiquity that we cannot refer it to a later period than the Christian era. Like the tradition already referred to, it seems probably to have been a fragment of that "tota" cabalica exercitatio," as it is called by Kircher, in which he thought that the ancient Rabbis, "by their writings, either before, or imme-"diately after Christ, endeavoured to declare "in their Cabala the coming of the Saviour." This tradition is thus expressed:—

שָבעה בני אדם הם שקיפלו אח העולם: אדם קדם מתושלח שם יעקב: עמרם אבהיה שילהני ואליה

The translation, as given by Buxtorf, is—
"(There are) seven sons of men, who endure
"throughout all ages: Adam the first, Methu"salem, Shem, Jacob, Amram, Abaja the Shilo"nite, and Elijah."

In the merely nominal acceptation of these appellations, they would appear to have been arbitrarily selected as marks of some succession of time, without any farther meaning. But I

<sup>\*</sup> See Zohar, Parasche Bereschith.

think it will appear on inquiry into the force of the component parts of the several words, that they have been meant to convey an enigmatical sense. With the exception of Adam, to which the epithet of first is annexed, as if to mark its ordinary sense, all these names have a double meaning, which, when analysed, will be found to serve as an index of the event which most especially distinguishes each period referred to in succession.

Thus the first line having expressed the relation of the seven following names, to seven portions into which the whole duration of time is supposed to be divided; Adam is given as the appellative of the first period, while Methuselah is assumed to distinguish the next in order.

But Methuselah is compounded of no and not not and is literally, he hath sent forth and hath destroyed. And thus, that great and miraculous destruction of the flood, sent forth to "destroy man from the face of the earth," which took place in the second millenary of the world, is expressed by the name appropriated to the second place of this series. The third is Shem, which, as is well known, also bears the

higher sense, of "the name of God," as applied to Christ, "the visible representation of the ever-"blessed Trinity," who is in the Old "Testa-" ment-styled the name of Jehovah \*." Thus it well and sufficiently expresses that most immediate agency of God, as the guide, protector, and ruler of his chosen people, which especially continued from the times of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Moses, to the termination of the direct theocracy over Israel, when they "chose to themselves a king." And thus the third millenary period, characterized by "the adoption, "and the glory, and the covenants," and by the continual assertion of the power of God to preserve his people, and to destroy their enemies, is distinguished by a name expressive of this theocratic rule.

But if from hence it is to be expected that the name next in order should relate to the fourth millenary, and be expressive of its characteristics, as relating to the fortunes of Israel, we shall remember that this period embraces the times of the various prophets, whom "they

<sup>\*</sup> Parkhurst, Heb. Lex. p. 744.

"killed and persecuted," of their successive defections from God by idolatry, and of their repeated punishment by captivity or the sword, till in the time when "the sceptre departed "from Judah," at the coming of Shiloh, the chief peculiarity of the nation was their exclusive denial of the favour of God to any other people, and their stedfast belief that the temporal dominion which engrossed all their thoughts and expectations was reserved for them as sole inheritors of "the promises made unto the "fathers."

Accordingly the name of Jacob is the next which follows, and we can hardly doubt that it is here used with the same meaning as that annexed by Esau to it, namely, with the sense of deceit or perversity, of supplanting another, or striving to obtain his inheritance.

Thus the synonyms given by one of the Lexicographers for this word are, "perversus, hære-"ditatis invidus;" and without seeking for a more particular application to any single event, we may conclude that the intention of a double sense, in this word also, has been made sufficiently evident, by its agreement with the general character of Israel and Judah, from the days of Jeroboam to the advent of the Saviour.

But if the clue, which we have hitherto employed, fail not, the next name of this series ought to apply to the millenary at the commencement of which our Lord came into this world, and was "found in fashion as a man." And if this be the case, the name for which we should seek could be applicable to no other than himself.

Accordingly it is Hamram; and while we are at a loss to conjecture why one so little mentioned in the Scripture should have been selected, if the selection were on his own account, we can discern a reason why the father of Moses and Aaron should represent him, of whom Moses in action and authority, and Aaron in speech, were in their united ministry a type. But without such a reference, the construction of the name fully explains why it should have been chosen, as referring to the Saviour, of whom St. John has said, that the "Word was made flesh, and dwelt "amongst us;" and of whom the Baptist spoke, when he said, "Behold the Lamb of God:" for it happens very remarkably, that both these appellations are, as it were, embodied in forms

similar to this name, if not absolutely identical with it; while the additional letter ב, which is affixed to them in this case, is the usual form of a pronoun, and serves to express, enigmatically, the relation of these names to more than any individual; as being not only as a lamb, but their word or their lamb. אמרא is quoted by Buxtorf, as the Chaldee form for אמרא is quoted by while Parkhurst, giving for אמרה the sense of a word or speech, quotes two passages of the Scripture † in proof of his assertion.

Thus no more change is made in these words than might suffice to show that they were in some sense to be universally, as well as personally, applicable; while the intention of this addition seems to need no other explanation than that the words are applied to Him, who came to be the propitiation "for the sins of the whole world." If, then, it were the object of this tradition enigmatically to designate the commencement of the period of the Messiah as coinciding with the beginning of the fifth millenary of the world, it would seem that a name more appropriate than

<sup>\*</sup> Buxt. Lex. p. 38.

<sup>†</sup> Deut. xxii. 2, and 2 Sam. xxii. 31.

that of Amram could scarcely have been selected. But as we know that the number of years which have elapsed since the first advent of our Lord, have now nearly extended to two millenaries, it will follow that the name by which the next, or sixth period is designated, must also relate to the Messiah, as prevalent in the influence of his Gospel and the results of its doctrines, and the fulfilment of the prophecies, which concern his person or his attributes.

Nor shall we be disappointed in this expectation; and we shall find, that not only is this the case, but that the terms made use of afford a testimony, not the less valuable because it is indirect, of the utter disagreement of opinion between the preservers of this ancient tradition, and the upholders of that heresy, which denies the divinity of the Messiah.

The name which follows next in order is "Abajah the Shilonite;" and while it will be difficult to render any personal reason for the selection of the name of Abajah, or for the change of the name of Ahijah, who, as we are told, dwelt at Shiloh\*, the force of the compo-

<sup>\* 1</sup> Kings xix. 2.

nent parts of these names will, as before, solve the difficulty, and show the propriety of their use for the purpose which has been intended. need hardly remind the reader that as ab, has the sense of "father\*;" while the emphatic 7, which divides this syllable from the latter part of the name, is not without a meaning; for as Jah is one form of the name of God himself, so it especially intimates his eternal existence †; and thus the solution of this name Abajah will be, "the everlasting Father." And therefore, as I have already observed, we have here a valuable commentary on the sense anciently annexed to that passage of Isaiah, in which he has prophesied of the Saviour, that "his name shall be " called" "בי ער שר שלום ;" for although the equivalent word עד, or everlasting, is substituted for יה, yet the subsequent mention of Shilom, in connexion with this expression, shows that this passage of Isaiah must have been in the contemplation of the framer of these enigmatical lines; for "the Shilonite," which is added as if explanatory of the name Abajah, is evidently

<sup>\*</sup> See Parkhurst, Lex. p. 3. † See Parkhurst, p. 157. † Isaiah ix. 6.

meant to have reference to the latter clause of the sentence in the book of Isaiah; while the word Shiloh, being not only similar to Shilom, but in another sense being especially applied to the Messiah, as the Shiloh who should come, the force of these united expressions is well applied to signify that "government and peace," of the increase of which the prophet has declared there shall be no end.

The seventh millenary still remains; and as it must synchronize with that period described in the Apocalypse by the binding of Satan, and by the reward of those who "lived and reigned "with Christ a thousand years;" so the name made use of to designate it, ought to be expressive of this state of blessedness and peace. It is accordingly Elijah, אליה, which is composed of and היה, and literally means God the Lord, as protector, as preserver, and also as being over all, and continually present; such being the separate force of these two names, and such, consequently, the result of their combination.

While, therefore, the ineffable name of God is here distinctly given to the Messiah, and while the attributes of eternal existence, and of omnipotence, are applied to him, even as to the Father, still in such connexion with his office of Atonement, with the preaching of his Gospel, and with its results upon the world, as to leave no doubt that the person, the office, and the power of Christ, were here meant to be described; we can scarcely avoid the conclusion, that this ancient tradition not only expresses the scriptural doctrine concerning "the Word," which "became flesh and dwelt amongst us;" but that it leads to a very strong presumption, that the computation of time with which it most nearly coincides, is nearest to the truth.

Although it were fruitless to seek for any historical proof by which the time from whence this tradition has been handed down might be determined, yet the internal evidence which is involved in it bears very strongly upon the question as to the period at which it must be supposed that the Hebrew computation was forged, if such a forgery ever took place.

It is obvious that this tradition not only agrees with the scheme of the Hebrew chronology as to the total amount of each, but that it also places the events which are alluded to, in the same portions of that whole duration. Most especially the agreement as to the time at which the first advent of our Lord took place, is such that, even if we suppose these lines to have been written by a Hebrew Christian long subsequent to the events which they detail, this solution will only exchange one difficulty for another. Whoever might be the author, would not conceal the main import of his forgery, nor would he be satisfied that it should be taken merely in the literal sense in which it would have borne no more definite meaning than the tradition already attributed to the "house of Elias." But thus it must have contained so plain a declaration that Jesus was the true Messiah, drawn from Jewish sources, and in perfect agreement with the Jewish computation, that if either the first or subsequent compilers of the Talmudic writings had been aware of the testimony contained in it, they must either have rejected it altogether as a forgery, and have refused to admit it into their compilation, or else have acknowledged that so express a testimony proved them to be in error when they rejected Jesus of Nazareth. I think it will appear far more probable that this writing,

being ancient, had ceased to be understood beyond its literal sense; and that thus those who admitted it among their collection of Jewish traditions, attached to it no other importance than it obtained from agreeing with that computation of seven chiliads, which they already believed to be correct. Such indeed, from the first century of our era, has been the hostility between Jews and Christians, and especially between Jews and Jewish converts to the Christian faith, that had these lines been composed by one of the latter, we can scarcely suppose it possible that they should ever have been received or repeated by those very persons, who were best able to show, that no such tradition had existed before that period, and least inclined to add to their own collections of traditionary knowledge any thing proceeding from persons whom, beyond all others, they despised and hated.

If, indeed, we were not in possession of the book of Enoch, and especially of the prophecy of ten weeks, coincident with seven chiliads, we might have been at a loss to conjecture from what source such knowledge as that which the framer of these lines must have possessed, could

have been obtained. But since both the computation included in them, the doctrine and the facts to which they relate, might be gathered from the book of Enoch, it appears to me, that from the probable antiquity of this tradition arises also an additional probability of the antiquity of that book, and of the truth of that computation used in the Hebrew Scriptures, with which it coincides.

I will not pursue this part of the subject farther than to add, how obviously the early knowledge of such a tradition among the Jews, adds to the necessity that an earlier date than has usually been assigned to the supposed alteration of the Hebrew chronology, should be established, in order to support whatever theory of the probable cause of such a change might be advanced; since it now appears nearly certain, that the wish to invalidate the belief of Christians as to the time of the Messiah's appearance, could not have led to any such proceeding on the part of the Jews.

Doubtless we should act very wrongly if we were to attach any weight to such a tradition as that which I have described, if it appeared to militate against any passage of Scripture; or even if the total silence of the voice of inspiration on this subject were negatively to make it probable that such an opinion must be erroneous. But I think it may appear that the computation of these millennial periods is not unsupported by the Scriptures. It is, in the first place, difficult to account for that prevalence of this opinion, which is by all authors acknowledged to have been nearly universal in the early church, unless by the supposition that it was then grounded on the Scriptures by those who supported it. With regard to the millennial period of the Apocalypse, this must be admitted so far as relates to the last chiliad: and I shall hereafter endeavour to show, that there are at least some reasons, which may lead us to the same conclusion with regard to the six previous chiliads.

We must remember, that however the various secrets supposed to be contained in the numerical cabala may have been by degrees distorted into absurdity, there must still have been some foundation of truth on which this superstructure of error was afterwards built. It may at least be concluded, that if the total duration of the world,

or the various parts of that duration, had originally been associated with any definite numbers, they would, very probably, serve as the foundation of a system which should exaggerate the occult powers of numbers in general, and thus serve, by degrees, to throw doubt over any numerical tradition, and to confuse the results which might otherwise have been derivable from it. And in this probable consequence we may, perhaps, trace a merciful and wise provision, by which God has appointed that events yet future, and delayed for coming ages, might be foreshown to his saints of old, under the Patriarchal dispensation, with some collateral aid of evidence derived from their knowledge of an appointed duration for each of the future revelations of the Law and Gospel; while, as time passed on, and the evidence of events became multiplied, this numeral evidence decreased in like proportion, till at length the testimony of an indefinite, though general expectation, was all which remained to mark the agreement of the Messiah's coming with "the fulness of time," the period for which it had been appointed.

So when, after the coming of our Lord, the

dispensation of the last age and time commenced, it seems as if the ancient opinions upon this subject had been so far revived, that men expected with confidence the coincidence of the sixth millenary of the world, with our Saviour's return in glory.

Taught indeed, as I imagine that the earlier Christians were, to ascribe an erroneous date to the creation of the world, by their agreement with the numbers of the Septuagint, it necessarily followed, that their calculation was mistaken, and that the opinion on which that calculation was founded fell into neglect, since there was no suspicion that the chronology itself had been falsely stated. But as years have since passed on, and century after century has again supplied events to guide our observations, we have approximated to the same position as that in which men were placed previous to our Lord's first advent; and if the ancient persuasion be now again renewed, and it should appear probable that the same calculus which taught men to expect the fulfilment of the former prophecies, may direct us also to look for the completion of those which regard the latter days, his coincidence will hardly be denied to be rather a presumption of truth than an evidence of error.

It is true that no weight can be attached to these speculations when taken singly, but when they are found to add additional evidence to that which is to be collected from other sources, the many rays which are thus found to converge towards the same focus, afford a light, the guidance of which is not the less to be relied on, that the independent sources from which it has been supplied combine themselves to point to a common termination, as they direct their light towards the same spot.

The passages which are found in the Psalms, and in the second epistle of St. Peter, relative to the mystical identity of a thousand years, with a scriptural day, or alw, have been so frequently taken notice of, that I will only add the observation of a learned author on the latter \*. It may serve as an instance of that recurrence to the ancient opinion of the church, of which I have already spoken.

<sup>\*</sup> King's " Morsels of Criticism," p. 552.

He says, "It is impossible to read the words " ('One day is with the Lord as a thousand "years, and a thousand years as one day,") "without recollecting that the most ancient "opinion in the church really was, that as the "instituted week consists of six days and a "Sabbath, so the duration of the imperfect state " of the world on earth, would be six thousand "years, and then would come the perfected "state of it, or its true Sabbath. And if to this " we add the consideration of those words of our "Lord, Destroy this temple, and in three days "I will build it up,' and consider the three "days in which his body lay in the grave, as "typical of three thousand years, (or rather "reckoning it as the days themselves during "which his body lay in the grave, were com-"puted,) of the several portions, or parts, of "three thousand years, which should pass be-"tween the time of his crucifixion, and being "denied on earth: (when he first came as the "Messiah,) and his second coming in glory: I "say, if we consider all this rightly, we cannot " but perceive that then, the dawn of the third

" prophetical day, will exactly coincide with the end of six thousand years of the world, or beginning of the great Sabbath.

"And we cannot but thence be led to suspect, "that the apostle meant something more by "these words, than merely to inform us that "a great length of time was the same to the Almighty as a short one, as to the real com-"pletion of his promises.

"In short, we cannot but suspect that he meant to lead us to compute a certain determinate period, and even one exactly coincident with that mentioned by St. John, and also with that mentioned by Daniel." (P. 552.)

Hosea vi. 1, 2, contains a very remarkable passage which appears to add strength to the supposition, that the third great day is coincident with the future coming of the Lord, and with the restoration of the Jewish nation to the favour of God. The prophet's words are, "Come "and let us return unto the Lord, for he hath "torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, "and he will bind us up."

2. " After two days will he revive us; in the

"third day he will raise us up, and we shall live "in his sight."

According to Montfaucon's Hexapla, the Hebrew and Vulgate agree in the same sense for Verse 2.—"Vivificabit nos." But while the versions of Aquila and Symmachus have "revi-"viscere faciet nos," the LXX. give "Sanos "faciet nos," while another translation has "Sanos demonstrabit nos." Thus the general sense to be collected from these translations, is that of re-appearance after a long period of obscurity, or a revival from a suspension of the functions of life. It is hardly necessary to observe how exactly this description coincides with the state in which the Jewish nation has remained during the times of the Christian dispensation.

But it is to be observed also, that the sense given to the first verse of this chapter in our Bibles, appears not to be the most exact one.—
"He hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath "smitten, and he will bind us up,"—should be rather, "he hath dispersed, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will collect us "together," where the members of the suc-

cessive parallels are inverted, in a manner which Bishop Jebb has shown to be no unfrequent mode of expression in Scriptural poetry.

Thus the parallels would be "He hath smit-"ten and he will heal us; he hath dispersed, "and he will collect us together."

The allusion is then more evidently appropriate, and serves to restrict the sense of the following verse to the period of the restoration of Israel, while the date supplied, marks out the precise time at which that restoration shall synchronize with the coming of the Son of man.

The word אור, as applied to the supposed death of Joseph, has been rendered by our translators, "rent in pieces \*;" and as it appears to be used in this place metaphorically, with a reference to its occurrence in the former chapter †, it would seem to have the sense of separation or dispersion.

For the Hebrew, ויחבשנו, the Hexapla gives "Alligabit fasciis nos;" and Symmachus has, "Alligabit nos." The general and primary

<sup>\*</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 33.

sense of the verbs הבל ligavit, הבח conjunxit, plicavit, and הבק circumligavit, from which this word is made, appears to be that of a mutual bond and connexion, which prevents any separation; and such, I conclude, ought to be the force of the word in this place.

As of the millennial period, Isaiah has fore-told, that "all shall know the Lord, from the "least even to the greatest;" so the prophet here declares, "then shall we know, shall we "follow the Lord. His presence is prepared as "the morning." For it is to be observed that the primary sense of NYD is to find, or, intransitively, to be present. And, therefore, the mention of a general knowledge of the Lord, as in combination with his future advent, is most appropriately so introduced by the Prophet, as to mark the sense of his former words.

The Prophet had declared, at the end of the third chapter, that the scope of his vision extended to the latest ages of the house of Israel; for after the description of their present state, "for many days without a king, and without a "prince, and without a sacrifice," it is added,

"Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days."

Thus the prophetic invitation, "Come, and " let us return unto the Lord," separated, as it is, from the former passage only by an episode concerning the judgments of God, is a continuation of the previous prophecy concerning the return of the children of Israel in the latter days; and if either the analogy of scriptural terms, the connexion of these several parts, or the most exact sense of the words which are made use of, may be supposed to indicate their true meaning, we shall be led to the conclusion, that an allusion to the two millennial days of the dispensation of the Gospel of Christ, is here made in such a manner as to afford much support to our opinion, that the expectation of such successive periods has not only been handed down by tradition, but that it is also confirmed by some authority of Scripture.

It is very remarkable that the Hebrew words used for the third day, are ביוָם השלישי, in which

the prefix of the emphatic ה to שלישי is equivalent to such an emphasis as we should express by the third day, indicating that, for some reason, the day referred to is to be distinguished from others. When the same words occur in the book of Genesis, to describe the third day of the creation no such emphasis as this is used; and from hence also we may conclude, that the sense of the two passages is not identical. Doubtless this prophecy has some reference, as the critics have usually supposed, to the time during which our Lord remained in the grave; and this allusion is indeed so obvious, that the double sense, which I have endeavoured to elucidate, may have remained unnoticed from this cause. ever, as I imagine, these two explanations mutually concur, and serve to strengthen each other, this testimony will not be thought inapplicable to my present purpose, because it admits of a double explanation, such as that given by our Lord himself to the raising up of the serpent in the wilderness; but applied to two periods, the first that at which Jesus, having died, "rose "again;" the second, that at which "those who "sleep in Jesus will God bring with him," and

when, "every man in his own order, Christ the first-fruits, afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming," shall arise.

A late admirable writer has so forcibly shewn the agreement of this sense of the prophecy which I have quoted, with the manner in which the parables relative to our Lord's future advent are expressed, that his conclusions will hardly be denied \*.-" I cannot but think that to those "who are versed in the language of the Scrip-"tures, something is delivered which will bring " us nearer than we could expect to the time of " Christ's second advent. If any such thing is "to be obtained, we must discover it by com-" paring together the expressions in those several " parables which relate to this matter. In one " of these it is said, "Watch ye, therefore, for "ye know not when the master of the house "cometh, at even or at midnight, or at cock-"crowing, or in the morning." To say that "we know not at which of these, is to say that "at one of these he will come; and now the "question will be, how these expressions are to

<sup>\*</sup> Sermons by Rev. W. Jones, of Nayland, vol. i. p. 86.

"be taken! They are certainly figurative. "The master of the house is no common master " of a family, but the Lord Christ himself, and "therefore the hours here spoken of, are not "those of a common day." He then alludes to the expressions of St. Peter, and to St. Paul's declaration, that "A rest, or Sabbath, remaineth "for the people of God," adding, "At what "time can that Sabbath be expected to com-"mence, but at the end of six days, such as we "have already mentioned. It is a Sabbath of "a thousand years; and if we are consistent " in our computation, it must be preceded by a "week whose days are of the same length. " we go back with this reckoning to the expres-"sion of our Saviour in his parable; then the " 'even' there spoken of must be understood of "the conclusion of the sixth day of the world, " which immediately precedes the great Sabbath, " or seventh," &c.

Having shewn that we must infer from the relation given by St. Luke \*, that the master of the house" must come either at midnight or

<sup>\*</sup> Luke xii, 38.

at the cock-crowing, this excellent writer thus

proceeds:—" In the parable of the ten virgins, "which undoubtedly must be interpreted of "Christ's second coming, but one of these divi-"sions is left to us; it being there said, 'At " midnight there was a cry made, Behold the " bridegroom cometh.' So that in the midnight " of this day, that is of this thousand years in "which we now live, the Scripture hath given us " reason to expect the coming of the Son of man, " and if the Scriptural day be divided into por-"tions corresponding with those of the natural "day, that midnight may be even now at hand." Nor is it only by modern commentators that this mystical sense has been attributed to passages which, at first sight, appear to relate only to an ordinary day. "The Scriptures," says Origen\*, "often appear to call a whole age to-

<sup>&</sup>quot; day." As in the Psalms it is said, "To-day "if ye will hear his voice harden not your hearts." And in Joshua we find this plain declaration, "Depart not from the Lord in the days of to-day, (εν ταις σημέρουν ημέρους)." But

<sup>\*</sup> Origen de Oratione, p. 249.

if to-day is the whole of this age (ὁ πας ούτος aιων), perhaps yesterday means the past age. And this I suspect to be expressed in the Psalms, and by Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews. In the Psalms " A thousand years are in thy sight "as yesterday, which hath departed:" which vesterday is that remarkable space of a thousand years, compared to yesterday, as distinct from to-day. But by the Apostle it is written, Jesus Christ, yesterday and to-day, himself, and to all ages (εις τους αιωνας). Nor do I think it wonderful that a whole age should be computed by God as the space of one of our days, or less. For we must examine whether those things which are spoken of feasts and assemblies, described by days and months and (καιροις) times and years, may be referred to ages. For if the law has a shadow of things to come, it follows that those many sabbaths are a shadow of many days, and that the new moons should recur at certain intervals of time, according to the conjunction, of I know not what moon, with a certain sun, (επιτελουμενης) being finished.

But if both the first month and its tenth, to its fourteenth day, and the feast of unleavened bread,  $(\tau\omega\nu \ a\zeta\nu\mu\omega\nu)$  from the fourteenth to the twenty-first day, has a shadow of things to come, who is there so wise and so favoured by God, that he may behold the first as of many months, and the tenth day thereof and the remainder? But why need I speak of the feast of seven weeks of days, and of the seventh month, whose new moon is the day of trumpets, with that tenth day of propitiation; things understood alone by the God who hath ordained them.

Who hath perceived so clearly the mind of Christ that he can explain the seven years of liberty for Jewish servants, of the remission of debts, and of ceasing from the cultivation of the sacred land? There is, moreover, beyond the feast of seven years, that which is called the jubilee, which, how its scope is to be made evident, or what true laws are to be fulfilled in it, is in the knowledge of no one save of him who hath beheld the father's will concerning his ordinance, (αιωσι) in all ages, according to his inscrutable judgments and untraceable paths. A difficulty has often oppressed me when comparing two of the Apostle's expressions, how it should be the fulness of ages (συντελημα αιωνων)

in which once for the doing away with sins  $(a\theta \epsilon \tau \eta \sigma \iota \nu \tau \omega \nu \dot{a} \mu a \rho \tau \iota \omega \nu)$  Jesus has appeared, if in future times, there are ages to succeed them,  $(a\iota \omega \nu \epsilon \epsilon \mu \epsilon \tau a \tau \sigma \upsilon \tau \sigma \nu \epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \chi \sigma \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma)$ .

For these are his words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Νυνι δε άπαζ επι συντελεια των αιωνων, " εις αθετησιν των άμαρτιων, δια της θυσιας αύτου " πεφανερωται;" but in the Epistle to the Ephesians, " Ίνα ενδειζηται εν τοις αιωσι τοις επερχομε- " νοις τον υπερβαλλοντα πλουτον της χαριτος αυτου " εν χρηστοτητι εφ' ήμας."

Concerning which things, conjecturing (στοχα-ζομενος) I imagine, that as the completion of the year is the ending of the last month, to which the beginning of another month succeeds, so many ages consummating as it were a year of ages (αιωνων), the present age is the consummation, after which certain ages to come (μελλοντες τινες αιωνες) shall succeed, of which the first is the age about to begin, and in those future ages God will shew the riches of his grace in goodness, &c. He continues, "one who sees these "things, and beholds mentally a week of ages, "and a certain holy Sabbath, perceiving also a "month of ages, that he may behold the sacred

"new moon of God; and a year of ages, that "he may perceive the feasts of that year, in "which it behoves every male to appear before "the Lord God, (Deut. xvi. 16.) and years ac-" cording to the analogy of such ages, that he " may attain (καταλαμβανη) to the seventh sacred "year (ετος), and to the seven ages, reckoning " by sevens, (και αιωνων έβδοματικοις επτα) so that "he praises him who hath set in order such "wonderful things; how is it possible that he "should speak of the trifles of this short hour " of a day of the present age? (ημερας του τηλι-" κουτου αιωνος) and will he not act with regard "to these things, that by this preparation be-"coming worthy to partake of the daily bread, " (του επιουσιου αρτου) in the present day, he " may receive it also, even until (the) day (και " καθ' ήμεραν.)."

But as the opinions of commentators, or the voice of tradition, must equally be unavailing without the consent of Scripture, I will proceed to notice another passage in which the prophet Ezekiel appears to have alluded to these milleunial periods here spoken of by Origen. In the forty-seventh chapter we have a remarkable

vision of the "waters which issued out from "under the threshold of the house eastward," which is thus continued, "And when the man "that had the line in his hand went forth east-"ward, he measured a thousand cubits," or as it is in the original, "אלך באטה, "He "measured a thousand with a cubit, and he "brought me through the waters; the waters "were to the ancles.

"Again He measured a thousand, and brought me through the waters; the waters were to the knees. Again He measured a thousand, and brought me through; the waters were to the loins.

"Afterward He measured a thousand, (and it was) a river that I could not pass over: for the waters were risen waters to swim in, a "river that could not be passed over."

When we remember that the invitation of the prophet is "Ho every one that thirsteth, come "ye to the waters," we shall be prepared to admit, that under this same similitude, the doctrine which maketh wise unto salvation through Christ, may be alluded to in this description, as well as in the words of Isaiah; but while we

have thus no difficulty in the supposition that the progress of the Gospel does, in some manner, form the theme of this vision, we must still seek from Scripture alone, such help as may lead us to a right and consistent interpretation of the several particulars comprehended in this portion of Ezekiel's prophecy.

All commentators will, I believe, agree that the sense which is conveyed under the metaphor of waters, is the same in this place, as in the passage of Isaiah which I have already noticed, or in that of Zechariah, who predicts that "it " shall be in that day that living waters shall go "out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the "former sea, and half of them toward the "hinder sea; in summer and in winter shall it "be. And the Lord shall be king over all the " earth; in that day shall there be one Lord, "and his name one." And thus the fulness of this spiritual river is referred to the time of the Messiah's future dominion. Nor is it less evident that the description given in the subsequent verses of Ezekiel's prophecy, is identical in meaning with that which is found in the Apocalypse.

The words of the former are, "Behold on the " bank of the river were very many trees on the "one side and on the other." -- "And it shall "come to pass that every thing that liveth, "which moveth whithersoever the river shall "come shall live: and there shall be a very "great multitude of fish, because these waters "shall come thither; for they shall be healed, "and every thing shall live whither the river "cometh. And it shall come to pass that the "fishers shall stand upon it."-" And by the "river on the bank thereof, on this side, and on "that side shall grow all trees for meat, whose " leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit "thereof be consumed: it shall bring forth new " fruit according to his months, because their "waters they issued out of the sanctuary, and "the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf "thereof for medicine."

But by St. John also, it is said, "He shewed" me a pure river of water of life, clear as "crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God" and of the Lamb; in the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of

"fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations \*."

Thus the river of Ezekiel is the river "of the "water of life," and the trees "whose leaf shall " not fade," of which it is said by the Prophet "that the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and "the leaf thereof for medicine:" are those the leaves of which are described in the Apocalypse, as being "for the healing of the nations." But as this identity includes also an identity of time, and as the words of the Apocalyptic prophecy are admitted to refer to a period subsequent to the commencement of the millennial kingdom of Christ, so the last thousand measured by "the "man that had the line in his hand," when the waters were risen, "waters to swim in, a "river that could not be passed over," is that very time in which "Satan shall deceive the "nations no more till the thousand years be "fulfilled."

Thus, then, the Scripture itself affords to us a measure whereby we may compute the several

<sup>\*</sup> Rev. xxii. 1. &c.

thousands which should precede the last of those mentioned by Ezekiel. It teaches us that the subject here referred to is the accomplishment of that covenant, whereby the promised Saviour should appear when "the fulness of the time" being come, "God sent forth his Son, to redeem "them that were under the law, while in the "progress of fulfilment he should gradually "cause the Gospel of the kingdom to be " preached in all the world for a witness unto " all nations,' before the end shall come." Thus, also, that voice of tradition, or that computation of chronology which brings the most remarkable events of the Gospel dispensation, whether in its preparation or development, most nearly to coincide with the commencement of four millenary periods, is not without some evidence of Scripture in favour of its authenticity; and whatever internal marks of truth we may discern in the computation used in the book of Enoch, thus receive an independent confirmation, the strength of which will depend upon the probability of our conjecture, that the cubit has been made use of by Ezekiel as a measure of time, with the mystical sense to which I have already

referred. It is at least evident, that what is spoken of as space in Ezekiel, is calculated as time by St. John, while in another part of the Apocalypse \*, the command to "measure the "temple of God," is given as being synonymous with some estimate of duration; for when it is added, that the court should not be measured because "it is given to the Gentiles," the time of their possession of it is also shewn:--" The "holy city shall they tread under foot forty and "two months." Nor is this conclusion unsupported by other testimony. In the book of Daniel †, the prophet is said to have looked, "And behold there stood other two, the one on "this side of the bank of the river, and the "other on that side of the bank of the river. "And one said to the man clothed in linen, "which was upon the waters of the river, How "long shall it be to the end of these wonders? " And I heard the man clothed in linen, which "was upon the waters of the river, when he "held up his right hand and his left hand "unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth

<sup>\*</sup> Apoc. xi. 1. 2.

<sup>†</sup> Dan. xii. 5, 6, 7.

"for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a half."

The Angel who is described by Daniel as being "on the waters of the river," fulfils his appointed office of measuring the times which should elapse during the accomplishment of the prophecy, before the symbolical waters should have flowed to their fulness. When therefore we observe, that Ezekiel \* describes the angel who "brought him through the waters," in terms similar to those employed by Daniel †; and when we remark also that the symbolic waters are in both cases employed by each angel as a measure, while in one instance that measure is expressly referred to time; it will hardly be doubted, that the measures employed in the other case are also measures of time, and that they may therefore be rightly interpreted according to the guidance afforded by the Apocalypse with respect to the last of those millennial periods.

It would therefore seem that we shall not depart from the analogy of scriptural expression, if we argue, that the gradual rise of the waters, or the

<sup>\*</sup> Ezek, xl. 3.

measurement of each thousand cubits, may be considered to represent the state of the dispensation of the Messiah, whether inchoate and preparative, or as subsequently in course of fulfilment. From the time of the covenant of God with Abraham, at the commencement of the third millenary of the world, the people of Israel were not only the chosen of God, and under his peculiar rule; but as we learn from St. Paul, all things happened to them "for our ensamples," so they must be considered, not only as foreshewing, but as preparing the way for the future visible church of Christ, when in the wilderness they drank of that spiritual rock, and when through successive ages they accumulated prophetic testimony to the Messiah "who should "come."

And thus the gradual preparation of Christian truth proceeded from the time when, as is implied in the use of the Hebrew word , the waters only "trickled forth;" so that when the first thousand cubits had been measured "the "waters were to the ancles." Nor do we fail to discern such a coincidence as might be expected with the commencement of the next mil-

lenary period, when at the building of the temple of Solomon, God himself declared, "I have " hallowed this house which thou hast built to " put my name there for ever, and mine eyes "and mine heart shall be there perpetually;" thus giving a promise which from the circumstances of that temple's destruction, can only have received a symbolical fulfilment. this time, whether in the prosperity attendant on their obedience, or in the various punishments which followed their defection from the pure worship of God, the people of Judah and Israel were still "his witnesses," while in common with them, even the Gentile world gradually learnt to expect Him, who coming out of Sion, should have dominion; and thus when the next thousand was measured, "the waters were to "the knees," and when "the whole number of "them that believed was about three thousand "souls," the infant church had already found that "well of water springing up unto everlast-"ing life," by which "the river" was to be gradually augmented. When another thousand years had passed, when "again he mea-"sured a thousand, the waters were to the

"loins;" for the doctrines of the kingdom and gospel of Christ, though they were the cause of persecution in every age, though they were diminished by accumulating heresies, and tainted by later superstitions, yet prospering in the thing whereunto they were sent, performed their gradual office, and found increased acceptance among men as time rolled on. It is indeed true that there has been much to deplore in every age of Christianity; but as the prevalent vices, and universal cruelty of the heathen world have been gradually circumscribed, and reduced to narrower confines, by the advancing tide, which has already brought comparative good will among men, so while we now confess that the abuse of that power which all physical knowledge gives is to be feared, we yet doubt not that there shall still be an energy of good more than correspondent to the augmented force of evil. We, therefore, who in this last period, in which again the angel is measuring a thousand, are waiting for the coming of the Lord, as for the time when we shall be glad and rejoice in his salvation, may surely anticipate, with no faint or despondent expectation, that when this millennial

period shall be completed, the waters shall indeed have risen, "Waters to swim in, a river "that cannot be passed over;" for thus shall the promise be performed, that "the earth shall be "filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the "waters cover the sea."

If the preceding interpretation be correct, the authority of the chronology which is involved in it being thereby substantiated, the use of that chronology in the book of Enoch, will be in some degree an argument of the antiquity and truth of that composition. But as the existence of such a mystical reference in the Scripture, to any periods of time, ought not to rest upon the disputable sense of a single passage; so if such a reference do indeed exist, it ought to harmonize with those various declarations concerning successive portions of time which are scattered throughout the prophetic writings. It appears to me, that such a harmony is traceable, on inquiry into the relative proportions of the various prophetic numbers, and the sum of that period to which they seem to refer.

In the following chapter, therefore, I shall endeavour to trace out such internal evidence of pre-arranged and harmonious combinations among the Scriptural numbers, as may at least serve to show that the use of such a calculus as is found in the book of Enoch, is no proof that it has been a forgery of comparatively modern times.

## CHAPTER II.

If we justly attach the greatest importance to the combination and coincidence of the various facts which are contained in the prophetic Scriptures, it appears that we shall also rightly consider with the greatest attention, those indications of a definite and connected design as to duration, which are traceable in the various numbers which are referred to by the successive prophecies of Daniel and St. John.

If indeed we should fail in tracing any relation of times successively indicated by the prophetic Scriptures, this will only shew that our materials are insufficient for such purpose, while we should still conclude from the analogy of all creation, that the same admirably complete and connected design, must be comprehended in this, as in every other portion of the works of God.

The utmost intricacy of mutual dependence has been proved to exist from the highest to the most minute objects of the creation, and the existence of each little pendent flower, in fruitfulness and health, has been traced to its relation with the mass of the earth; so that if the force of gravity were altered, by an increase or decrease of the globe, the strength given to each stem of such a flower, would require a proportionate alteration, in order to maintain its present curve unvaried.

The various evidences of combination in the design of the laws under which not only the planets move with relation to the sun, but their satellites in relation to the planets themselves, have especially made the phenomena of astronomy a series of examples, from which we not only infer combination as to bulk and form, but the greatest exactness of adjustment as to time; so that we reckon with the utmost confidence on the regularity with which the heavenly bodies fulfil their several periods, exhibiting therein a

precision, which must extend to the whole time of their existence.

Hence it may be inferred, that the period spoken of in the Scripture as "the time while "the earth remaineth," must necessarily bear some definite proportion, to the cycles of astronomy; and as this period, whatever it be, must be necessarily coincident with the period of the continuance of the solar system under its present organization, so must it also bear some definite proportion to the duration appointed for every individual in the succession of persons, and every single object in the successive period of created things inanimate, which shall have been accumulated from the first sabbath of God's rest, till the day wherein "the elements shall be dis-" solved with burning heat."

But if the heavens present to our eyes the symbols of that exactness of order, which is evidently preserved by God in the arrangement of successive periods of time, and of the events belonging to each; it will be probable that the relative harmony which, as to magnitude and form, is visible throughout the creation, will also subsist as to time; every day and year being so

ordered, that if the connexion and arrangement of the events dependent on it could be discerned, as to their most remote as well as their immediate effects, there would be found the same lucid order, and the same connexion between each portion of time when compared with preceding and subsequent periods, as can be more certainly and fully developed with regard to the forms and qualities of every various class of the visible creation.

If then it be admitted, that the duration of the world is certainly pre-ordained of God, it will not be denied that the principal events of that duration must have to each other, and to the whole of the successive dispensations ordained by our Creator, a distinct and determinate relation, not only as to the fitness of their succession, but as to the absolute time at which each shall come to pass, till all be at length fulfilled.

But as the importance of that moral history of mankind which has been recorded in the revealed word of God, is far greater than that of any merely secular events, because with it are connected all the hopes and fears, the promises and threats which regard a life everlasting in duration; it must therefore be probable that any knowledge which may be revealed to men, concerning the succession of events in the dispensations of God, would not only be valuable as an isolated portion of truth, but as being connected with that great scheme of salvation, which from the first sin of Adam, to the final judgment of mankind, is to be considered as the most important of the objects for which this world has been so wonderfully framed.

If then we have rested upon any probable foundation, either from the words of Scripture, or from the voice of antient tradition, our expectation that the time during which the dispensations of God, preparatory to the fulness of Christian perfection, should endure, has been typically set forth in the six days of creation, followed by the sabbath of rest; it will also be probable, that the various numbers mentioned in the Scripture should singly and collectively bear some determinate relation to this total sum, and to particular portions of it.

Whether indeed such numbers be a part of the past history of revelation, as applicable to the

patriarchal or Mosaic dispensations, or whether they be considered to belong to the prophetic history of the dispensation of the Gospel of Christ, they may in either case, according to the foregoing assumptions, be expected to bear to the whole period of revelation, a distinct and pre-arranged proportion; for the events to which they relate, and of which they are the certain, though mysterious indices, are those which most especially assure mankind of the unceasing watchfulness of God for their welfare, throughout successive stages of a gradual preparation for that final destruction of evil, which shall consummate the blessings derived from the advent of the Son of God, to seek and to save those who otherwise would have been lost to the possibility of that happiness which cannot co-exist with death or sin.

Whatever then be the period of the world's duration, or whatever the whole scope of prophecy relative either to the Mosaic or Christian dispensations, it is probable that between the numbers which would express these periods, and those numbers which are revealed to us in the Scriptures as portions of time referred to by the

prophets, there is a determined relation; so that each of the latter has not only respect to the whole sum of time, but to the various portions, either antecedent or subsequent, which together with it make up that total sum.

If therefore any period be assumed as comprising this whole duration, it is to be expected that the testimony of history, and of fulfilled prophecy, should combine to show some harmony between the several times at which events predicted have taken place, and that this combination should be reconcileable with the supposition that the successive times have been so appointed, with reference also to the whole cycle as well to its subordinate portions.

In proportion, therefore, to the exactness, and to the number of coincidences, afforded by this testimony, will be the probability that the total period assumed, is correct; and in like manner, if any such period be spoken of in history, or handed down by tradition, its agreement with the testimony already mentioned, will indicate an approximation to truth in that historical or traditional evidence.

In the preceding pages, I have endeavoured

to collect such evidence as may show that a prediction was in ancient times believed to have been delivered concerning the duration of the world, and that this belief coincided with the typical expressions of the Scriptures, which have also been anciently interpreted to relate to this subject.

It will then remain to apply to the period thus indicated, the principle already mentioned, of the probable exactness in duration, as well as in form, belonging not only to the works created, but to the events predetermined by God, in order that from hence a conclusion may be drawn as to the probability that the opinions thus attained to, are consonant to the words of God.

If then the millennial computation already stated have its foundation in truth, the relation of those periods which are mentioned in the Scriptures to that portion of the whole duration, within which they are comprised, being necessarily exact and definite, if it should be found that an exact arrangement is traceable in the series to which they belong, on the supposition that the whole of this series is comprised within the two last millenaries, reckoning from the first

advent of our Lord; it will then be highly probable that this appearance of arrangement is not fortuitous, but that the total duration, the successive portions of which are found to harmonize with each other, is correctly stated.

Such, I think, will be found to be, at least in some degree, the result of our assumption, that two millennial periods are indicated as the duration of the present dispensation of the Gospel of Christ before "the end shall come."

If it should be thought that any inquiry which relates to a determined and exact duration of this present dispensation, previous to the second advent of our Lord, must be inconsistent with those passages of the Scripture which have sometimes been supposed to discourage us from any such attempt; it may, perhaps, be found that a stronger or more general sense has been affixed to such passages, than they ought to bear.

When we recollect that those words of our Lord, "It is not for you to know the times or "the seasons, which the Father hath put in his "own power," formed part of his rebuke to the disciples, who asked, "Lord, wilt thou at this "time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" we

shall hardly infer that this is a general declaration, or that a similar reproof is now applicable to those who inquire concerning that "testimony "of Jesus which is the spirit of prophecy."

It rather seems from the context, that our Lord, while he repressed their expectations of any sudden exaltation or temporal prosperity, thus intimated to his disciples, that although this sort of knowledge was neither necessary nor expedient for them, that power most especially suited to their circumstances, the power of working miracles for the conviction of those to whom they preached, should be afforded to them; while such expectations as those of which they spoke should be the comfort of future believers, as the time approached, when the admonition appropriate only to the careless, should be, "If thou "wilt not watch I will come on thee as a thief, " and thou shalt not know at what hour I will " come upon thee." But in this declaration is involved the hope, that Christ will not come as a thief upon those who do watch, and that they shall, ere his coming, know at what hour he will come upon them. Nor is this inconsistent with the observation, that " as the days of Noe were,

"so shall also the coming of the Son of man be," for it is said, that "by faith Noah was "warned of God of things not seen as yet\*;" and it is very remarkable that in the passage of Isaiah, which is translated, "This is the Lord, "we have waited for him to the word p, which is used in the forty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel to express the "measuring line."

Of the root πη, Parkhurst observes, "It is of "like import with St. Paul's αποκαραδοκια, Rom." viii. 19; Phil. i. 20; which is properly the "stretching forth of the head and neck with "earnest intention and observation, to see when "a person or thing expected shall appear." So that in the Hebrew, we have such a remarkable coincidence of expression between these two passages, that if one be allowed to relate to the computation of time, it can hardly be doubted that the other has a similar relation. It is indeed true, that in the sense of absolute foreknowledge, neither "the times nor the seasons" will ever be known by any human being; but this acknowledgment

<sup>\*</sup> Heb. xi. 7. † Isaiah xxv. 9. ‡ Parkhurst's Lexicon, p. 637.

does not exclude such an expectation, as, being grounded on the words of Scripture, acquires that degree of certainty to which it approximates, not from any human foreknowledge, but from the desire to submit our faith in acquiescence to that which we believe God to have revealed to us, whether with less or greater distinctness.

With regard to the declaration made by our Lord himself, that "Of that day, and that hour, "knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are "in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father;" it may be sufficient to observe, that as we must, at all events, admit this assertion to apply only to the human person, and prophetic or priestly office of the Redeemer, so it appears probable that the word order is used in the same sense as that to which it has been limited by St. Paul, when he declared to the Corinthians, that he "deter-" mined not to know any thing among them, save "Jesus Christ, and him crucified \*."

Origen indeed appears to have affixed to this expression another sense, yet one equally differ-

ing from such an interpretation as would derive from hence an argument of uncertainty as to the coming of the day of the Lord. He says, "But "what is to know, since He will know that day "and hour which shall occur at the end, and "the shortening of that day and hour? Surely "it is manifest from what is said in Ecclesiastes, "that there is another sense of knowing or "understanding in the Scriptures: 'Whoso "keepeth the commandment shall know no evil "word.' And of the Saviour himself it is said, "that 'He made him sin for us, who knew no "sin.' This is as if it were said, He who sinned " not, neither had sin in his nature. And in "this sense no one, neither the angels in hea-"ven, nor the Son of God, knoweth the day of "destruction and consummation of this present "age: God providing better things for his saints, "that they may be in the blessedness which will "begin from that day and that hour."

However we may in part differ from this exposition, it will at least be evident, that as the most strictly literal sense cannot be affixed to these words, they will afford but little ground

<sup>\*</sup> In Math. p. 874.

for an opinion which chiefly depends upon their literal acceptation. I would rather hope that we may, in all humility of mind, follow the guidance of the word of God on this, as on every other subject connected with the accomplishment of the final purposes of his providence towards them who shall be heirs of salvation; nothing doubting that the Scripture may indeed "be pro-"fitable for instruction" as to those various indications of a calculation of successive periods of time which are contained in it.

If then the duration of two millenaries, reaching from the birth of Christ to his second advent, be probably appointed; the Apocalypse, which professedly contains the prophetic history of the Christian dispensation, must also refer to a space of two thousand years.

But as it also contains some statements of numbers, if those numbers refer to years it will follow that they are the component parts of the whole duration referred to, whatever it be; and if that duration be rightly assumed, they will be found to harmonize with it, as being portions of a sum total with which, when united, they will coincide.

Again, as the numbers made use of by the prophet Daniel are admitted, for the most part, to relate to the same period as those of the Apocalypse; it ought to be found that they also may be so combined, as to produce the same species of numeral evidence as that which I have already mentioned.

Before I enter upon this question, it may be remarked, that some confirmation of the theory of two millennial periods seems to be derivable from the book of Exodus. Without endeavouring to determine what degree of typical relation may exist between the account of the plagues inflicted by Moses on the Egyptians, and the events denoted by the trumpets or vials of the Apocalypse, it will be sufficient to observe, that if we assume each day reckoned in Egypt to be of the same length as those which are spoken of in the prophecy of weeks found in Enoch; that is to say, taking each day for a hundred years, the time denoted will be precisely two thousand years, while most of the events affixed to a particular period in the book of Exodus, are found to occur in the same order in the Apocalypse. the few exceptions, the want of agreement seems

to arise from the obscurity of the terms which are made use of. It is especially remarkable, that as seven thunders in the Apocalypse are "sealed up, and not written," so seven days "were fulfilled" during the plagues of Egypt, in which days no infliction is recorded. And thus, as on the morning of the third day the Redeemer rose, as on the third day God will raise up his people, when they "shall live in his sight," and as at the beginning of the last thousand, the waters of Ezekiel shall have fully risen, and Satan, according to the Apocalypse, shall be bound; so also, after the midnight of the twentieth day, the people are represented to have departed from Egypt "with a high hand."

I have annexed, in a tabular form, the instances of that correspondence to which I have alluded, and shall now pass on to inquire what results will be obtained from considering the numbers indicated by Daniel, and in the Apocalypse, to be fractional portions of an appointed period of two thousand years. These results will also be found in the same table, the construction of which I will endeavour to explain in the following pages.

(		
2000	The two last thouse sands of the waters of Ezekiel.	Thousands of Ezekiel.
2000 Exodus xxi. 3000	The two last thouse sergent. Is ast thouse sergent. The waters to blood.  of Ezekiel. Waters and blood.  of Ezekiel. Waters to	Days of the Plagues to Egypt.
2000 Millennm, 3000	1st. 233 years. 2nd. 233 years. 3rd. 3rd. 3srd.	Seals of Apocalypse.
	111 to 1222. 12 id. 13 id. 15 id. 16 id. 16 id. 17 id. 17 id. 18 id. 18 id. 18 id. 19 id. 19 id. 19 id. 10	Trumpets of Apocalypse.
	Ist.   Ist.     Ist.	Thunders of Apocalypse.
2000 Millenn <sup>m</sup> . 3000	11 to 1443 111 to 1554 3rd, 111 to 1665. 4th, 111 to 1665. 111 to 1665. 111 to 1687. 16 to 1887. 17th, 1998.	Vials of Apocalypse.
2000 Millennm. 3000	Number of comment, 666 years. 666 years. 866 years. 11 to 1554. 3rd. 11 to 1554. 3rd. 11 to 1665. Vumber of 2 to 15 to 1	Number of the Beast.
2000 Millennm. 3000	1st Woe. 666 years. 2nd Woe. 666 years. 3rd Woe. 666 years.	Three Woes.
2000 Millenn <sup>m</sup> . 3000	1st Time. 666 years. 1 year. 2nd Time. 666 years. 1 year. 3rd Time. 666 years.	Time, times, and dividing of time.
2000 Millennm. 3000		Time to which " he that waiteth" shall come.
2000 Millennm. 3000	74 years to destruction of Jerrusdem. 666 years	Time, times, and a half.
2000 Millenna 3000	74 years to 364 or 37 destruc- years to tion of Je- our Lord's rusalem. death. 666 years. 666 years. 1296* years. 1260 years. 1296* years. 1999	Time from the duily sacrifice taken away.
2000 Millennm. 3000	N 1	Time of the Paniel's vision tiles treading daily sacrifice of the end from under foot the taken away. desolution. Holy City.
	666 years, then 42 months, 42 months, 16 or 1260 lunar years, 1222 years, reaching to A.D. 1888.	Time of Gen- tiles treading under foot the Holy City.
2000 Last day of Millenn <sup>m</sup> , tenth week 3000 A.D. 3000	566 years, Weeks of then the comments, puterion of the book 1260 hnnar of Enoch. years, reaching to A.D. to 1888.	

Since the Scripture can neither encourage us to attempt what is impossible, nor absurd, I assume that the command given in the Apocalypse, to "count the number of the beast," is neither beyond our power of fulfilment, nor unworthy of our most careful attention.

On the supposition, therefore, that this number may be declared to us, as an index or key, by the use of which the Apocalyptical synchronisms may most correctly be observed, I have constructed the table which I am about to describe, in order to show by it, that the hypothesis by which the appointed duration of the Gospel dispensation is limited to two thousand years, is not without confirmation from the coincidences which arise from its use. The thousands mentioned by Ezekiel, and the days occupied by the plagues of Egypt, which have been already referred to, being placed in the first and second columns, the third contains the six seals of the Apocalypse, which in agreement with other commentators, and especially with Vitringa, I assume to occupy the whole period from the first coming of Christ till in the days when the seventh angel shall

begin to sound, the "mystery of God shall be finished."

In order to explain the principle upon which a certain duration has been assigned in this table, to each of the seals; it will first be necessary to inquire whether any such order appears to be observed in the prophecy of the Apocalypse, that we may from thence infer, how the several spaces contained therein, may be measured, on the supposition that their total amount is two thousand years. Of the seven seals, which as I have already stated, are assumed to reach from the commencement to the end of the prophetic scheme; six are consecutive periods of preparation under the present state of things in this world, for the seventh period, under a better state of consummation as to good, and abolition as to evil. Thus Grotius has remarked \*, that "Senarius numerus res hujus mundi signi-"ficat, ut septenarius, res sæculi melioris."-Whether indeed it were derived from the days of the creation, or from any of those traditional sources which I have already indicated, there

<sup>\*</sup> Crit. Sac., vol. vii., p. 4185.

can be little doubt that this reference to the seventh number was universally acknowledged among the Jews.

So many commentators have decided, that the seventh seal is to be considered as contemporaneous with the seventh thunder, trumpet, and vial; that it will be sufficient to refer to them, and particularly to the commentary of the learned Vitringa, for proofs of this coincidence. While, therefore, the six seals occupy the whole space previous to the seventh; there is sufficient proof, which is so well known that I need only refer my readers to it in the several works on this subject, that the trumpets, thunders, and vials, occupy smaller spaces of time. But if the orderly arrangement of this prophecy has any meaning, or if the accuracy of its divisions, where they are known to us, may lead to the inference, that all the divisions referred to are equally exact; it will be probable, that these eighteen periods, which must occupy nearly the whole space of the prophecy, are equal as well as consecutive. I assume this fact, therefore, in the following calculations.

Thus we have, in the first place, six greater

periods, and, in the next eighteen smaller ones, the termination both of the greater and lesser divisions being coincident.

Assuming, then, as before, that two thousand years is the probable duration of the whole series of events foreshewn in this prophecy, we shall recollect, that "In the days of the voice of the "seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, "the mystery of God should be finished \*." As also, that, when "the seventh angel poured out "his vial into the air, there came a great voice "out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, "saying, It is done." Thus, then, a very small period is to elapse after the beginning of the seventh trumpet sound, or the commencement of pouring forth the seventh vial.

If, therefore, the whole space referred to, be two thousand years; the time occupied by the six seals, or by the successive trumpets, thunders, and vials, must very closely approximate to two thousand years, while yet it must not coincide with it.

But be this number what it may, it must not

<sup>\*</sup> Compare also Rev. xi. 19.

only be nearly two thousand, but if we rightly expect that the various periods should be equal to each other, the number required must be divisible by six for the duration of each seal, and by eighteen for the length of each lesser period.

The number 1998 is thus divisible, and as it is the nearest number to 2000, which is so, the terms of the prophecy require that it should be assumed as the total duration of the six seals, each of which will therefore occupy 333 years, while the eighteen lesser periods will be each 111 years.

It has often been observed, that the "number " of the beast," is a repetition of the same digit three times. Irenæus says of it, "Esse nume- " rum sexcentos sexaginta sex, quod est sexies " centeni et deni sexies, et singulares sex, in " recapitulationem universæ apostasiæ ejus, quæ " facta est in sex millibus annorum." But without attempting to decide what mystery may be concealed under this form, we may at least think it highly probable that this repetition of the same figure is not accidental: and if we were to suppose that this peculiarity were to be

kept in view, it is very remarkable that the divisions indicated by the number 1998, both for the seals, and for the other emblems, are also repetitions of the same digit; for the seals 333, and for the others 111 years, being the periods thus prescribed. But if this be not accidental, it would follow that the whole of the eighteen periods ought to possess the same peculiarity, and this is accordingly the case, for they will be successively 111, 222, 333, 444, 555, 666, 777, 888, and 999. The nature of the decimal notation makes it impossible to proceed with numbers of precisely the same character, since the remainder must consist of four digits each. They are 1110, 1221, 1332, 1443, 1554, 1665, 1776, 1887, and 1998; in all of which it will be observed, that the addition of the first and last digit amounts to the same sum as that of each of the other figures, so that they still approximate, as closely as the notation will admit, to the same form as before.

As all these numbers have been produced by a train of reasoning, which is unconnected with the number 666, their universal coincidence with its peculiarity, is at least very remarkable. But if, as I have assumed, it be probable that the number 666 contains a numerical key to the relation of the numbers mentioned by Daniel and by St. John, this probability will certainly be increased by the occurrence of these various coincidences.

In the second, third, fourth and fifth columns of the table, is shown the division of the seals, with that of the trumpets, thunders, and vials, arranged in the manner which I have described, and severally making up the total sum of two thousand, by the addition of two to each. These two years I assume to represent the space which shall be measured by the beginning of the Angel to sound, after which the mystery of God shall be finished. The next column contains the number of the beast, of which I must admit, that the general mode of explaining what is meant by it, has been by referring to the numeral power of various letters, which at once form some applicable word, and make up in their aggregate amount this given number; but it appears to me, that no merely inferential sense of any word should be admitted till the more usual and literal sense is found inadequate to

afford any solution of the difficulty which may occur in its interpretation.

The words of Euclid, "Αριθμος το εκ μοναδων "συγκειμενον πληθος," number is a multitude composed of units; are quoted by Parkhurst under this head, as an explanation of the primary sense of the word. He notices that in Luke xxii.3, and John vi. 10, the word is applied simply to a numerical amount, and cites also Josephus and Herodotus to the same effect.

This word is used with the same literal signification in another part of the Apocalypse, (chap. xx. 8,) where it expresses the aggregate number of the nations of the earth.

But it is evident, that a mere estimate of amount may equally serve to express either a multitude as of persons, or an accumulation as of time, or years.

We know that  $\psi_{\eta}\phi_{\iota}\zeta_{a\tau o}$ , here translated "count," is derived from the  $\psi_{\eta}\phi_{\iota}\iota$ , or small pebbles originally used for the addition of numbers, and in this sense, namely, to count or reckon up the cost, the word is used in the only place where it again occurs in the N. T.

I assume, then, that to "count" this number,

is to compute, by number, the period of duration assigned to whatever power is designated as "the Beast;" and when this number is said to be six hundred three score and six, it would seem that no violence is offered to the context, or to the general sense of that form of expression which is made use of, if the same meaning be annexed to this number, as to others in the Apocalypse, which have been usually considered to denote a succession of prophetic days, or ordinary years.

In such a sense, this number will denote the existence of "the beast" for six hundred and sixty-six years; or the counting of that number of years will in some manner explain the duration of the evils referred to under this name. But our interpretation appears to be somewhat more precisely limited, by the expression, that this number is "the number of a man."

The years through which a man exists may be said to be his number according to a Scriptural form of expression, as when it is said, "Lord, "let me know the number of my days."

But it is remarkable that the Apocalypse appears to speak of three "woes," as running

throughout the whole period of the prophecy; and while St. John assures us that there were Antichrists even in his day, and St. Paul speaks of another more full revelation of the "man of "sin" as yet future, the prophet Daniel makes the destruction of the beast in "the fiery flame" to synchronize with the end of the prophetic period.

But as the duration of life includes the rise from infancy to adolescence, as it is especially marked by the time of manhood, and yet includes also the decline of age; so this number may by a threefold application of the prophetic calculus, mark out the several stages of the rise, the prevalence, and the downfall, of that power referred to as the beast. But very remarkably, the whole period of 1998, includes precisely three portions of 666 years. And if we were disposed to characterize these successive periods as measuring the "woes" of perverse error, of blind superstition, and of audacious infidelity; it will be found that the facts of history, so far as it has proceeded, would enable us to approximate very closely to an agreement between the times and the events referred to.

The seventh and eighth columns of the table contain this number, as applied to measure these spaces, to which, as in the other cases, is added the short time assigned to the beginning of the last trumpet's sounding. It is indeed fruitless to speculate upon the reasons which might be assigned for the application of this number of six, thus repeated as a mark of the successive periods of evil in this world. It may be sufficient to remind the reader, that such phraseology is in accordance with the many Hebraisms which are scattered through the Apocalypse. The remark of Philo as to this number, may serve to show how widely diffused the opinion was, that the numbers six and seven were in some manner appropriate, the former to earthly, the latter to heavenly things. He says, "The prophet called "the sabbath a day of rest, not only because "after six days the people rested from their "accustomed works, but because the seventh "number, both by us, and by the world in "general, is reputed the most peaceful, the "most victorious over enmity, and the most "opposite to strife \*." He observes also in

<sup>\*</sup> Philo Jud. Leg. Alleg., p. 31.

another place, "It is intended that the existence "both of mortal and immortal things should be "indicated by their several numbers, things "mortal being measured by the number six, but "immortal and blessed things by seven \*."

Nor need we doubt that in the word of God some allusion is made to this distinction, as typical of the future period of the millennial rest; for although the lamb slain in the first month was a type of the "Lamb slain from the "foundation of the world," and although the deliverance from Egypt at that period may antecedently refer to the deliverance of the human race from the bond of Satan, by the first promise of the future Messiah, yet the seventh month alone was set apart as holy. In it the feast of trumpets, and the day of atonement, and the feast of tabernacles, from the fifteenth to the twenty-second day, made this month as it were a consecrated period, a distinction which was strengthened by the commencement of the reckoning of the years of Jubilee, and of the sabbattical years also, from its first day.

<sup>\*</sup> Philo Judæus de Abrahamo, p. 227.

While, therefore, we must admit that some reference distinct from that which relates to the weekly sabbath, has been made to the seventh number in the types of the Mosaic law, it will not appear futile to remark the parallel distinction which is here evident in the use of the number six.

With respect to the ninth column, in which these same figures thrice repeated, with a division of one year between each number, are characterized as "time, times, and the dividing " of time," I must remark, that as this portion of the prophecy of Daniel confessedly relates to "the fourth" or Roman kingdom, and extends to the time when "the judgment shall sit;" so the theory which would identify these periods with the "time, times, and a half," afterwards mentioned by the prophet, seems to be confuted by the event; since that period has either expired, or must not be reckoned from the rise of the fourth kingdom. It seems as if the two passages were purposely varied in the original, while the language of prophecy, referring to one event, is, on the contrary, generally uniform in expression. Thus, in the seventh chapter, the

words used are ערן וערנין ופלג, while in the twelfth this expression is changed for למוער למוער. It has indeed been observed, that the one is according to the Hebrew, the other to the Chaldee idiom, but I can find little foundation for this opinion.

It would seem that פלג had rather the sense of separation, than that of numeral division, as appears from its use in the name of Peleg; while, on the contrary, there can be no doubt that אום has been exactly translated "half." It likewise seems that עד was certainly used to express a larger, and בועד a lesser number, and hence also a presumption would arise, that the same periods are not denoted in both places.

Although, therefore, I have been only led to this conjecture, by observing, that if a division as of separation, is here meant, the three numbers, with their requisite year of division between each, will then make up the whole of the two millenary periods; I have yet thought, that the coincidence of this conjecture with those which follow, may make it worthy of attention.

The next column contains the numbers 1334 and 666, the number 1334 being taken instead of 1335, because the prophet having said that he who waiteth, that is, who attains to the end of his computed period, shall come to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days, while, in all other cases, he has said that there "shall be" a specific number of days; it therefore follows that this number must be exclusive of the final day, since it is attained to at the end of the day previous to the last, which, therefore, must not be reckoned. But as this number reaches to the end, and therefore commences long after the beginning of the prophecy, we must supply a date from which it may be reckoned; and if 666 be supposed to supply to us this key, the addition of these two numbers will then make up the whole millennial sums, since 1334 + 666 is 2000.

Yet, as I have before observed, since there seems no reason to question the usual computation, which has assigned to the time, times and a half of the last chapter of Daniel, a period of 1260 years, it will follow that if the number 666 be a key to these several durations, it ought to

express this also. But as between 1334 and 1260 there is an interval of seventy-four years, so we shall remember that the "scattering of "the holy people," at the destruction of Jerusalem, took place at that very date, and if to this we add 666, and also 1260, it will be found to amount, as before, to 2000. In what order these sums are to be taken, or whether they may be reckoned in double or reversed order. I will not now attempt to decide; in either case the numeral accuracy of their amount is evident. Whether, therefore, we ought to compute a number of 666 years of preparation for the final development, or of decline subsequent to 1260 years of the domination of whatever power may be referred to, it is not now necessary to inquire.

In the next column I have conjecturally placed the number 1296, instead of 1290, for the following reasons. It is well known that Josephus has made use of the former number; from which we may infer that it was to be found in some copies at that time. Grotius, indeed, who, in his commentary observes, "1296 dixit Josephus," and says also, "putatur hoc tempus ab urbe "captâ et interdictis ritibus," adds, by way of

accounting for this difference, "modicum nec "Prætor curat nec Propheta." But it seems probable that there has been some corruption in the present text; for the word אשרי, translated blessed, is very similar in the form of its letters to ששה, which would have been the word probably used for six, had the passage originally borne that meaning.

I think it will also appear that the grammar of this verse is defective as it now stands, since the word אשרי is not used in the same manner as in the first Psalm, the relative pronoun being omitted; while on the contrary, if this word be considered as redundant, the rest of the sentence is perfect, and complete, without it. But if we may rightly conclude that the daily sacrifice was taken away according to the prophet's warning, when "the vail of the temple was rent in twain " from the top to the bottom," at the crucifixion of our Lord and Saviour; then the commencement of this number ought to be dated from that period. If, therefore, we add to thirty-seven, the year of our Lord's death, 666, and 1296 also, the total sum will be 1999; and it is very remarkable that the prophet has here made use

of another mode of expression, "from the time "that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away;" thus indicating, that the calculation is to begin beyond that period. If, therefore, we reckon in the excluded year, the sum, as before, amounts to 2000.

It must be remarked, also, that as the number 111 was pointed out as the smallest division made use of in the Apocalypse; so three intervals of thirty-seven years, both exactly make up this number, and fall upon the dates of thirty-seven and seventy-four, already assumed for the fixed points from which we are to reckon, as being the dates of the crucifixion of our Lord, and of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Thus these several calculations, in which the numbers are given, by the voice of prophecy, all appear most remarkably to coincide in the same sum, if we suppose that the number 666 may be rightly used to explain them.

In the next column I have marked a singular coincidence, which arises from the supposition that the "vision of the evening and the morning," in the book of Daniel, has respect to the Mahometan apostacy.

If we read with the Vatican septuagint 2400 days, or years, and reckon the number from the end of seventy years from the commencement of the captivity, that is to say, from 512 B.C., as fixed by Dr. Hales' computation, which gives B.C. 582, for the date at which the temple was destroyed; this period will then have elapsed in 1888 years from the advent of our Lord. But on looking at the successive dates appropriated to the "vials," we find that the sixth vial, which is said to be poured "upon the great river" Euphrates," falls upon the year 1887.

These numbers, indeed, being in a much greater degree conjectural, than those which have preceded them, the same argument of previous design cannot be drawn from them. In the last column, however, I have noted a coincidence which is very remarkable.

The Apocalypse has expressly taught us, that power was given to that beast, by whom, in common with our most accurate commentators, I understand the Mahometan power, to "continue" forty and two months."

But if the use of "months" ought here, as I apprehend, to designate such years as are mea-

sured by the moon's course, and such also as are used in the computation of the Hegira; then 1260 such years will amount to 1222 of our years. But if, as before, we take 666 for a key to this duration, 666 added to 1222, will amount to 1888, being, as I have already observed, the very year in which, by the independent calculation of the series of vials, the sixth vial is poured "upon the Euphrates."

Whatever importance we may allow to these various coincidences, it will be at least so difficult to attribute them to chance alone, that I cannot but consider them as affording no slight evidence in favour of the computation with which they coincide; and of the book from which that computation appears to have been derived.

If, indeed, one who should find various portions of some machine scattered from place to place, should discover, on comparison, that the several wheels were fitted to each other; that their proportions corresponded in a certain relation, and that, when put together, they would form a series capable of fulfilling some result of mechanical contrivance, the finder would scarcely attribute such an adaptation to chance, but would

at least infer from it, that the machine must have been previously made in some similar form, if not identically with the same combinations, as those of which he might have observed it to be susceptible.

And thus I would add, in this case also, may we observe some trace of combination, in order to produce a determined result, not only in that agreement of numbers which I have detailed, but in the relation of those numbers to the agreement of facts indicated by them. It has been observed by many commentators that there is a certain correspondence between the trumpets and vials as to the sequence of their subjects, each in turn relating to the earth, the sea, the waters, the sun, the seat of the beast, and the Euphrates; but it will be seen, on consulting the table, that the space intervening between each trumpet and its corresponding vial is, in every case, 1334 years, if we reckon the initial and final years of the series, while if these two years are omitted, the sum corresponds with the amount of two periods of 666 years. In both these results it seems that we can hardly be tracing the work of chance.

In my description of this table, I have only referred to it, as being a strong collateral test of the antiquity and truth of that calculation which is contained in the book of Enoch. I believe, however, that if we were to trace the facts of the moral history of Christianity, as they bear upon those mutations of opinion, and upon that increase of various knowledge which has taken place in the world, it would be found that the series of numbers which I have described has still greater claim on our attention, from the manner in which its use tends to clear up many difficulties in the Apocalypse, than from the singular numerical evidences which belong to it, when compared with the prophetic numbers of the Scripture. I have not, however, felt sufficient confidence in my own judgment to advance as an hypothesis what I have stated only as a subject for inquiry.

If the attention of others more competent than I am to analyse this subject, should thus be directed to it, my purpose will be fulfilled. But if such an inquiry should be thought to trench too closely upon ground which ought ever to be inviolate, as seeking to pry into things "unseen

"as yet," let it be remembered that an unreflecting and implicit faith is as fruitful of error as too bold a spirit of curiosity can be. I humbly trust, that in the preceding pages, I have neither sought to take away from the words of the book of life, nor to add unto them, as of my own mind; and with a fervent prayer that the God who "giveth sound wisdom and under-"standing" will prosper such truths as may be herein contained, and render each error harmless, I now conclude my labour.

THE END.





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